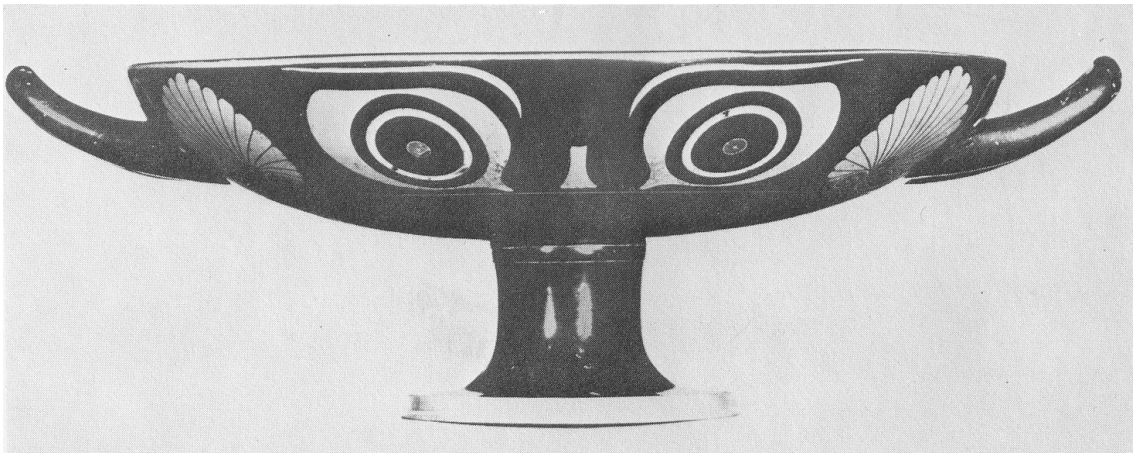
SIZE, SURFACE AND SHAPE

Experiencing the Athenian Vase



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Declaration

I declare that this work is my own and has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

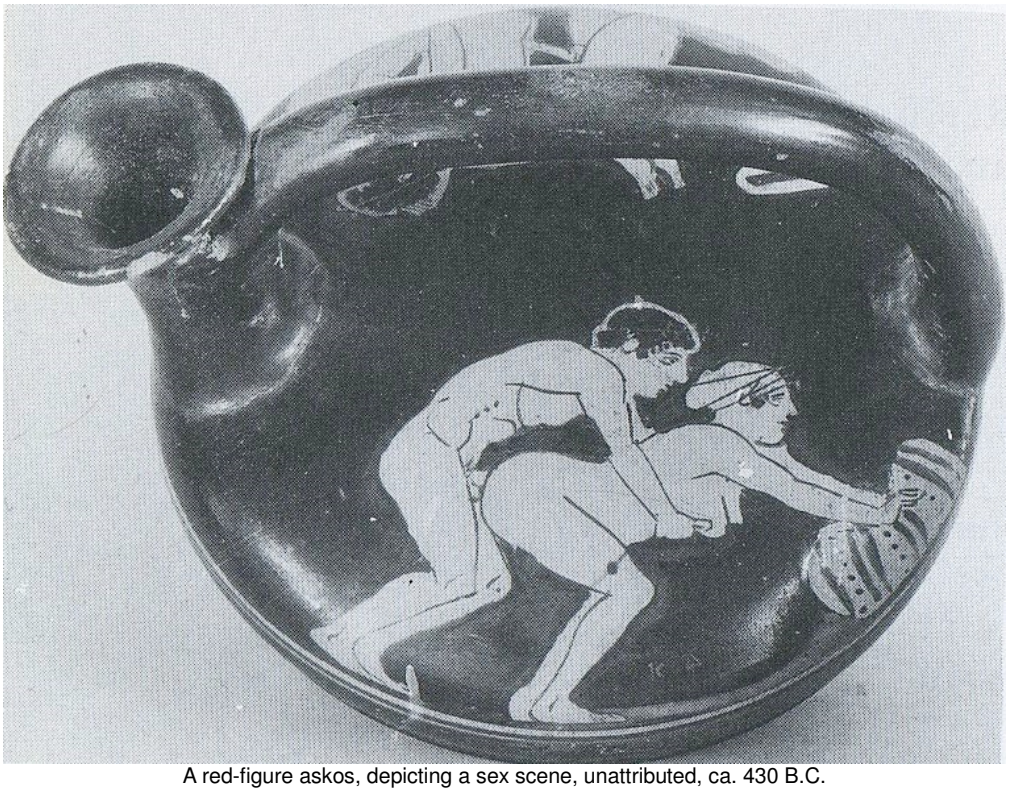
Abstract

This study provides an alternative framework for the interpretation of the painted and plain Athenian vase during the Late Archaic and Classical period. The primary focus is on the way in which the vase came to interact with society. As a commodity with a practical use, the vase was permitted to circulate in social spaces in Athens. As a consequence of this contact, the accumulated meaning became more symbolic than practical. For instance, due to its use within the domestic sphere, the vase became a symbol of domesticity. This development of symbolism involves a transformation in the perception of the vase as something more than a practically functioning thing. The functions that the vase performed were meaningful in themselves. For the purposes of exploring the manifestation of this transformation, this study draws upon an anthropological theory of art as well as theories which interpret the experience of viewing. Although the painted vase is discussed alongside plain vessels, its decorative component is considered as a further expression of communication between the vase and society, Athens in particular. The manifestation of this communication between the vase, context and user is isolated to three characteristics in this study; size, surface and shape. Alterations in these components reduce the practical function of the vase in favour of its symbolic qualities. These factors are discussed over five chapters. In so doing, this study offers a radically revised interpretation of the vase as an object which is entirely context dependent and came to represent the communication between commodities and society.

SIZE, SURFACE, SHAPE: EXPERIENCING THE ATHENIAN VASE

INTRODUCTION

THE VASE IN THE WORLD AND THE WORLD ON THE VASE



A red-figure askos, depicting a sex scene, unattributed, ca. 430 B.C.

Certain scholars have used the image on this red-figure askos as illustrative of both the sexual practices and misogyny of fifth-century Athens.[1] This reading originates from a belief that the painted image is a direct reflection of society or a reflection of the mind-set of society, created by the artist and experienced by the viewer. This representationist model is inadequate for understanding the complexity of a vase as an interactive experience for the artist and viewer.

[1] Athens, Kerameikos 1063. Kilmer (1993) 40 and 86, Keuls (1993) 176-177, Hoffman (1977) 6.

This interaction is in part determined by existing in a public sphere. [2] As a result, both the artist and viewer are subject to social conditioning, made manifest in responses to stimuli determined by convention. This social mimesis or recollection is unconscious and therefore makes an impact on an individual's response without them being aware of its influence. In addition to this response, which can be reconstructed with knowledge of social conventions, the experience of an object like the vase requires imagination. This genetic psychic response is personal and subject to variety, placing knowledge of it beyond the control of the artist, who can only ever imagine the viewer's experience. A vase, manufactured and decorated in Athens, was subject to social conditioning and an individual's imagination, which resulted in an image that offered an impression of reality, and not reality itself. When perceived through the complex experience of viewing, the direct forms of interpretation applied to the askos are insubstantial. The image on the askos reflects only an artist's perception of sexual practice and gender politics, subject to the language of social convention and artist's imagination. Furthermore, as the only example of graphic erotica excavated in Athens, this askos can hardly be considered representative of the Athenian experience of painted vases. This is returned to in detail in the Conclusion.

Alongside an engagement with the theory of experience, this current study demonstrates a methodology which engages with the entirety of the vase; its function, image or surface, physicality, context, meaning, and social agency. This method is not art-historical or iconographical as it is not limited to painted vases. The Athenian vase is viewed as an artefact, not a work of art.[3] This is far more significant than a change in vocabulary. It emphasises the archaeological phenomena of the vase as an object dug out of the ground, which before becoming historic, had a function and meaning. This method asks; what is the object doing and what did this mean. To articulate this emphasis, the 'doing' of the vase is referred to as function, and the 'meaning' is known throughout as functionality. These terms are defined below in detail. Painted vases are also viewed in functional terms. For instance, images are an aspect of the overall function of the vase, particularly in depictions in which the vase appears. The image is also perceived as a working entity, reflecting a manufactured construct of the viewer's identity.

[2] For an examination of this process in the spectatorship studies, see Mayne (1993), Allen (1995) and Campbell (2005).
[3] For an analysis of the limited commerical value of the vase and its status as art, see Vickers and Gill (1994) 33-54

The primary concern of this study then is to demonstrate the importance of the vase, image and all, as a working, interactive object.

By providing a dynamic method for the interpretation of vase painting, this study makes a significant contribution to Athenian cultural studies, and the studies of Greek art. The importance of this method is not limited to the field of Classical scholarship. By distinguishing between two different types of function – practical function and functionality –an original terminology and method of approach to interactive and ultimately useful objects has been developed. The majority of artefacts excavated and studied from historic periods were not subject to the modern viewing experience and definitions of art. There was no art-history, no artist, and no great commercial valuation of pottery. By calling for a radical change in our understanding of these artefacts, this study demonstrates the importance of interpreting objects as objects, not as works of art.

Athenian Pottery and Scholarship

The pottery discussed in this study was produced in Athens from the end of the sixth century to the beginning of the fourth century. Pottery from this period is generally referred to as Late Archaic and Early Classical, and is predominately rendered in the red-figure technique. The development of this technique at around 520 B.C marked a distinction in the Athenian ceramic market from its rivals.[4] Even decades before this stylistic innovation, the Athenian emphasis upon narrative and mythological scenes secured its commercial dominance.

Focus on this period is due to the importance of the cultural flourishing in Athens which caused high levels of productivity. Furthermore, it is essential that the pottery discussed in Section One was produced and excavated from within Athens. By studying the vase in relation to a find-context, its function and meaning in Athenian society can be considered. In addition to red-figured vases, we examine plain or black-glazed pottery which is commonplace amongst the excavated wells and pits in the Agora.[5] Although often overlooked due to their plain surface, it is just this characteristic that makes black-glazed pottery significant to this study. This type of pottery does not have the capability to provoke a response through figurative decoration.

[4] See Boardman (1975) and (1989).
[5] For a detailed overview of plain and black-glazed pottery, see Sparkes and Talcott (1970).

Instead, this response is determined by function. In this way, the black-glazed vase draws attention to the functional component, perhaps less immediately important in painted vessels.

The potters and painters of Athenian vases are lost to history. Their status in society is unknown and the appreciation of their works seems to have been minimal.[6] Other than the signatures declaring maker or painter, scholars are unable to name the ceramic artists favoured during the Archaic and Classical period. To counteract this lack of art history, the famous scholar Beazley developed a system based upon style and technique which would enable him to identify and differentiate individual hands. Beazley used this method of connoisseurship to create a vast catalogue of artists and workshops. These figures were named after a subject, or the location of the vase, for example, the Pan Painter and the Berlin Painter. This approach was strongly influenced by the study of Renaissance Art, and was motivated by adoration for the painted vases, as well as a desire to bestow on the medium an art-history. Knowing the approximate date of a vase can help to reengage the vase with context, however it is of little use to an approach concerned with its meaning to society. [7]

Increasingly, scholars confronted the limitations of Beazley's approach and have developed alternative iconographic approaches which focus upon the meaning of the image. In Beard's explanation of this method, she states; "If we cannot understand the images of society, we cannot understand society itself".[8] With the intention of reaching this understanding, resulting studies have focused on the meaning of the image and the viewing experience. For instance, in Frontisi-Ducroux's essay on the erotic gaze on Athenian pottery, she considers how the image represented the way in which Athenians wished to see themselves, rather than as they were. The visual language is in direct dialogue with social convention; "images inform us about the collective and social imaginary".[9] Frontisi-Ducroux's approach draws upon theories of experience, outlined briefly above.

Spectatorship studies have been a well-established branch of film and media studies for

[6] Osborne (1998a) 9-10 and Boardman (2001) 9.
[7] This brief summary of Athenian pottery production has been largely in formed by Boardman (2001) 11-127, Pedley (1993) 181-196. For further stylistic outlines, see the essays in Sparkes (1996), Rasmussen and Spivey (1991) and Cook (1972). For an alternative evaluation of Athenian pottery, see Vickers and Gill (1994) 1-32 in particular.
[8] Beard (1991) 14.
[9] Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) 81.

decades. With the aim of understanding the processes behind the experience of spectators, attention is directed to the factors influencing the viewer's response. Divisions have arisen in theorists that emphasise the importance of the social unconscious, and those that focus upon psychic identification.[10] This psychoanalytic approach, championed by Freud and Lacan, was introduced by Laura Mulvey in 1975.[11] Mulvey discusses the way in which the spectator is compelled to identify with a socially constructed ideology of desire and masculinity. This provoked much debate in the field of film studies, but remains as an innovative study into the power of spectator experience.

More particularly, spectatorship studies have made an impact upon studies of Greek art. In Stewart's exploration of erotic pursuit on red-figured vases, he cautions against a metaphorical approach to the image, instead he states; "It is necessary to stress that these pictures are fantasies, not representations of reality".[12] In other words, these images are subject to representational practice, not sexual politics. Stansbury-O'Donnell performs a structural analysis of spectator figures on vases. He emphasises the need to uncover the importance of seeing and the process. The image can reflect and construct an identity for the viewer; "By adopting traits of an image into the self-image, the individual can create a social identity that conforms to the culture and can see himself or herself reflected in the painted image".[13]

The identity of this "self-image" was already a concern for Lissarrague in his influential study on the relation between the painted vase and the symposium. Lissarrague restricts the identity of this "self-image" to the ideals of the elite drinkers at the symposium; "The vases used for drinking are not merely containers, or vessels for the consumption of wine; they are vehicles for images".[14] As a result, Lissarrague firmly contextualises the experience of the painted vase in the symposium. The fact that the painted vase reflected the ideals of the symposiast, whilst being used at the same time was integral; "Decorative imagery must not be seen in isolation from the object it embellished".[15] Lissarrague addresses his statement by perceiving the decorative and physicality components of the vase as subject to the requirements of the

[10] See for an outline of these opposing theories suggested by Benjamin and Freud, see Campbell (2005) 1-30.
[11] Mulvey (1975) 6-18.
[12] Stewart (1995) 83.
[13] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) 60.
[14] Lissarrague (1990) 11.
[15] Lissarrague (1994a) 140.

symposium. However, this is done in the abstract with no consideration for archaeological evidence. Lissarrague emphasises the importance of the sympotic context, which then informs his interpretations of painted vases. Each vase is a functionary of this relational context. This current study takes issue with Lissarrague's overly simplistic definition of context and provides relational contexts with supporting archaeological evidence. By moving beyond an abstract definition of the symposium and the painted vase, this study explores the interaction between the vase and Athenian society. In response to Lissarrague's caution against a perception of the vase as a mere decoration surface, the method demonstrated here considers the vase as a composite of factors.

At the beginning of Boardman's *The History of Greek Vases,* he calls for an approach to the vase that goes beyond its physical appearance. This must be a combined study of the image and its meaning, with the essential addition of the function of the vase. This balance between decoration and employment is imperative when it is acknowledged that the vase was never intended to be a work of art. Boardman states strongly; "It must be understood that we are not dealing with 'Art', let alone 'Art for Art's Sake'".[16] It is the intention of this current study to address the short falls of previous studies by performing a shift in perception. The vase is no longer a work of art but an object at work.

'An Anthropological Theory of Art'

The vase had functions to perform within society. It was a commercial object, with a market price and subject to market exchange. Simultaneously, the vase carried unique social value as a cultural marker, incorporated into society. These factors animated an interaction between itself, the user and society.[17] Resulting from this synergy, the vase accumulated meaning which enabled it to act within society as a thing with a biography and life history.

Due to this emphasis upon the animation of an inanimate object, the method developed in this study is anthropological and builds upon Gell's anthropological theory of art. Gell emphasises the need to readdress the pattern of artistic veneration of objects which had no such status to the society that produced them. In order to break away from this way of seeing,

[16] Boardman (2001) 8-9.
[17] For a study of the meaning of objects and their biographies, see Appadurai (1986a) 3-63, Kopytoff (1986) 64-91 and Gosden and Marshall (1999) 169-178.

Gell demands an emphasis upon the ability of such objects to provoke responses in the users. Furthermore, consideration for how this response resulted in an interaction between object and wider society. From out of this interactive experience comes a change in the status of the object into a replacement for a person in the social exchange. Gell argues; “Social agency can be exercised relative to 'things' and social agency can be exercised by 'things'”.[18]

To undercover the process of this transformation, Gell formulates a context-dependent approach to the object. Without knowledge of the context in which the interaction occurs, it is not possible to discuss this process. To ensure that each component in this interaction is considered, Gell develops a corresponding set of terms. This is then mapped out on the ‘art-nexus’ which measures the balance of agency.[19] The object itself is referred to as ‘index’, intentionally de-familiarising the object from conventional art-historical narratives. Gell uses the art-nexus to trace ‘abduction of agency’, which might lie with the object, artist, context or form of the object. This approach allows the object to be capable of provoking and then controlling the reaction of the user; “Any artefact, by virtue of being a manufactured thing, motivates an abduction which specifies the identity of the agent who made or originated it. Manufactured objects are 'caused' by their markers … hence manufactured objects are indexes of their makers”.[20]

As a provocative object, the vase can be examined through the art-nexus as an abductor of agency. When situated in a relational context, the vase interacts with this location and the user. This very physicality of the vase reduces the resistance of the user; “Wherever images have to be touched, rather than merely looked at, there is an imputation that there is inherent agency in the material index.”[21] For instance, when the user and the askos made physical contact, the experience of the erotic image is heightened.

This current study does not plot the interaction of the vase on the art-nexus and it does not apply his terminology. Gell’s theory is too restricting for a detailed examination of the experience of the vase. However, the questions that arise from Gell’s approach are of influence here; what did the vase do and what did this mean? Where and how was the vase used? Is an

[18] Gell (1998) 17.
[19] For a detailed overview of the art-nexus, see Gell (1998) 31-94, Whitley (2006) 227-236, Osborne and Tanner (2007b) 10-22.
[20] Gell (1998) 23.
[21] Gell (1998) 32.

undecorated vase provocative? As a result this study works with a perception of the vase as a set of components and considers how these are able to act as influences upon the experience of the users. Here, the components are size, surface and shape.

This study follows a few others in the field of ancient art which have been influenced by Gell's anthropological theory of art. In Tanner and Osborne's edited volume *Art's Agency and Art History*, this theory is used to examine a variety of visual mediums.[22] In their opening chapter, Tanner and Osborne take issue with Gell's structure of analysis, stating that the method is incapable of exploring the individuality of the object, and makes no allowance for a changing perspective towards the object in society.[23] With this in mind, Osborne applies the art-nexus to sex on painted vases with an emphasis on function. This theory is ideal to examine pottery, according to Osborne, as it is generally known how a vase was used, the context it was used in, and the identity of the user. Osborne concludes that the image, whilst having no direct impact upon the function, did impact how the user thought about this function.[24] This current study takes issue with the processes behind Osborne's approach. First of all, Osborne makes a distinction between experiencing the image and using the vase, rather than perceiving them as components of a whole. Second, Osborne selects a problematic example. The aryballos is signed by Nearchos, and roughly dated, however, this provides no insight into the user's experience of the vessel. The find-spot of the vessel is unknown, which prevents a context-dependent interpretation. And yet Osborne based the experience of the vessel upon use in the gymnasium. This can only result from emphasis upon an intended function, stipulated by the form of the vessel. This issue can only be addressed by providing supportive archaeological evidence for any vessel discussed through this theory. This is the aim of Section One.

In a series of articles, Whitley applies the art-nexus to a range of Greek art.[25] Whitley emphasises the discrepancy between our understanding of Greek art, and the Greeks understanding of art, making a significant connection to Gell's theory. He focuses upon the various uses objects had, beyond aesthetic considerations; "what matters about objects is not what they mean, but what they do".[26] And it is Gell's emphasis on work and purpose that Whitley

[22] Osborne and Tanner (2007).
[23] Osborne and Tanner (2007b) 22.
[24] Osborne (2007a) 187.
[25] Whitley (2006), (2011) and (forthcoming).
[26] Whitley (forthcoming) 5.

applies to the variety of Greek art. He considers this method a challenge to aesthetic and semiotic studies of Greek art, and emphasises the significance of archaeology when discussing Greek art; "Classical art history is archaeology or it is nothing".[27] Whitley concludes that a broader cultural history is required when studying Greek art, one which encompasses an archaeological and textual approach.[28] By applying the art-nexus to a Spartan shield displayed in the Agora and the Nike of Paionios of Mende, Whitley concludes that both objects are doing the same thing, despite the fact that the Nike was made with the intention to commemorate, whereas the shield became an object of commemoration only when appropriated by the Athenians after a victory.[29] This case study is used to illustrate the lack of aesthetic consideration made by the Greeks for objects they put on display. Emphasis is placed rather on "the history of the human relations that they encapsulate".[30]

This current study develops upon Whitley's methods, but focuses upon Athenian pottery. In particular, this study demonstrates the different ways in which the vase functioned. This is not as straightforward as it sounds. Resulting from particular functions the vase transformed into something not conveyed by form. In order to explore this transformation, and the significance of function, this study develops an alternative framework of interpretation with its own terminology.

Function and Functionality

With the purpose of breaking down the experience of the vase into components, this study places emphasis upon function. A significant distinction is made between the practical functioning of the vase and its non-practical symbolic functioning. These two types of function are interconnected, and informed by each other. However, the effect of context determined the importance of one type of function over another. A different term is applied to each function, and at this point it is essential to provide a detailed definition.

'Function' refers to the inbuilt use of the vase determined by its form. The form or shape implies an intended function, meaning that the vessel is physically inclined towards a particular use. For example, the form of the hydria is determined by its function as a water carrying vessel. With three handles, two used for transporting and one used for pouring, this vessel is uniquely

[27] Whitley (forthcoming) 23.
[28] Whitley (2011) 178.
[29] Whitley (2006) 233.
[30] Whitley (2006) 235.

suited to this occupation. However straightforward this identification may seem, an interpretation made only on this basis can be misleading. The vessel can be appropriated for use in a different way, or fail to carry out a function altogether. Knowledge of this complex experience of the vase is only possible with supporting archaeological evidence. For instance, an interpretation of a lopas or casserole excavated from a ritual pyre, rather than a kitchen dump, cannot be made on the basis of form. The casserole can be identified as a casserole, but to perform a more detailed interpretation of function the context has to be considered. Evidently, the casserole had a function here, but the intentional burial of the vessel suggests that this function cannot be defined in practical terms. Subsequent to this archaeological investigation into complex function, Section Two considers several instances of vessel illustrated at work on painted vases. This occurs on vases as a self-reflection, for instance, a painted cup depicting a cup, and as an illustration of a vessel used in a particular context. Wedding scenes commonly show the loutrophoros carried in procession or presented to the bride. These occur on painted loutrophoroi and other vessels with a connection to the wedding ceremony. This is a representation of function, and not function itself. However, by depicting function, the image becomes a component of the function of the vase. Unexpectedly, ‘function’ is no longer the correct term for this type of experience. It is the intention of this study to provide analysis and terminology in this instance.

When referring to this type of experience the term ‘functionality’ is used. The switch from function to functionality demonstrates a shift from practical function to non-function, which occurs on a far more symbolic level. Functionality refers to this symbolic use which is made manifest in an action or depiction indicative of use - a state which requires knowledge of the function indicated by form, even though the use event may never actually occur, or at least not conventionally. This symbolic experience of the vase results from the influence and character of relational context. This might not even be a temporary state, but an event which has an irreversible impact upon the physicality of the vessel. Returning to the casserole in the ritual burial, the practice within this relational context required that the vessel be made miniature. Not only did the casserole avoid the intended function suggested by its form, it also transcended function by taking on far reduced size, ruling out any possible practical function. The function of

the casserole is de-contextualised, transformed and then re-contextualised as a result of the ritualised relational context. This phenomenon is explored in detail in Chapter One and again in Chapter Three. Correspondingly, representational functionality works with prior knowledge of the practical function and relational context which best suits the vessel depicted. These representations are indicative of function. For instance, the single calyx krater on the Copenhagen pyxis (fig.4.1) is a manifestation of relational context and practical function without depicting either. The viewer experiences the calyx krater as a fragment of wide experience, evokes the indulgences and desires of communal drinking. This is discussed fully in Chapter Four.

The two sections of this study focus on a particular form of interaction between function and functionality. Over three chapters in the first section three components of functionality are explored; size, surface and shape. In Chapter One the varying use of size is examined as a way to prevent the functioning of the vase through formal characteristics. In Chapter Two the surface and painted images are discussed as a reflection of the character of dining contexts. And finally, in Chapter Three the shape and form of particular vessels is explored as deeply symbolic of ritual practice.

In Section Two representational functionality is considered over two chapters, this is an expansion of the component of surface discussed in Chapter Two. Here, emphasis is upon the relationship between painted decoration and wider society. Unlike iconographic studies, this study focuses on the painted vase and considers the representational practices used to construct particular aspects of viewer's identity. Construct is a significant term used here as these images are examined as reflections of a perception, not as reflections of any lived reality. In Chapter Four images of gender and collective experience are discussed as constructs of conventional identity. In Chapter Five the erotic desires of the viewer are depicted with the aid of an eroticised physicality of the vase.

Thesis Overview

This study unfolds over two sections, both with distinct focus. Section One, The World of the Vase, aims to explore the vase as an archaeological phenomenon excavated from find-spots in Athens. As a working artefact, the vase is discussed as an object dependent upon relational

context. This expression refers to the specific locations in which the vase was used. In Section Two, The Vase in the World, discussion is directed at the surface of the painted vase which worked as a component of the vase to project a construct of the viewer's identity as it circulated in Athens. Although distinct in the sense of focus, Section One and Two are components which frame the entirety of the vase. In the Conclusion, these two components are reconnected to perform a detailed reinterpretation of the askos.

Chapter One, Domestic Pots, provides the first type of relational context for the vase as a functioning object. Discussion focuses on archaeological find-spots in Athens which relate to private dwellings. This is intended to determine the experience of the vase in private and domestic relational contexts, which includes social spaces outside direct *polis* control. Beginning with the domestic sphere, the prime commercial market for the vase, the interaction between vase and user here is characterised by ownership, personal choice and individuality. As the archetypal relational context for the painted vase in particular, the institution of the symposium, which took place in the domestic sphere, is explored through archaeological evidence. A disparity arises between this perspective and those approaches based on textual evidence. The symposium provides the primary context for the practical functioning on the vase. In the second half of Chapter One discussion shifts from function to functioning, expressed through the physical manifestation of size. During small-scale domestic rituals, vessels were hung, buried or smashed as offerings to the gods. One instance was discussed above when a definition of functionality was made. This phenomenon is explored here in detail. In antithesis to domesticity, attention turns to the experience of the vase in Athenian taverns or *kapeleia*. Although generally perceived as lowly and concerned only with pleasure, the provisions of elaborate tableware and painted vases draw out surprising comparisons with the symposium. Through the use of the vase within such relational contexts, a challenge is made to the way in which certain scholars underestimate the importance of the *kapeleion* to communal life.

Chapter Two, Public Pots, develops from the domestic characterisation of the vase towards the experience of the vase in the public dining context. Here, the state provision of *syssitia* or public meals intended for select members of the *polis* is the focus. S*yssitia* was concerned with a public expression of citizenship and the collective, and not individuality. The

form and significance of *syssitia* is examined as essential background for the contexting of the vase. Importance is placed upon the different methods of dining. For instance, the circular form of the Tholos provided dining for fifty officials in a way comparable to the Spartan and Cretan *syssitia*. In contrast, officials dining in South Stoa I reclined in rooms reminiscent of *androne*s. The food served was broadly the same, but the architecture and vessels used as tableware are self-consciously opposed. This is made manifest in the surface of the vase – the component of functioning discussed in this chapter. This is particularly interesting when considered in relation to plain or glazed vases, which were used in relational contexts wishing to draw out the differences between traditional aristocracy and radical democracy.

In Chapter Three, Ritual Tools, the relational context is both an abstract ritualised space and concrete locations. Both types are characterised as ritualised contexts which have a significant effect upon the function of the vase. This chapter is composed of three parts; 'ritual dining', which focuses upon dining in sacred complexes; 'vessels of ritual practice', which considers certain types of vases that became symbolic of festivals and ritualised events; and finally, 'vessels as votive offerings', which involves the transformation of the vase into a gift for the gods. As discussion progresses towards the third part, the significance of the vase becomes gradually less practical, and increasingly more symbolic. The two preceding components of functionality – size and surface – are returned to here, with the addition of the final component, shape. By performing particular functions, indicated by shape, certain vases came to symbolise rites of passage in the lives of citizens. This is particularly apparent during the examination of loutrophoroi and lekythoi. At the end of Chapter Three it becomes clear that relational context is all important to the experience of the vase.

Although the painted surface of the vase is referred to throughout Section One, it is purely considered as working in conjunction with the shape and function of the vessel. Elements discussed over the three chapters suggest that the decorative component of the vase requires a more detailed analysis. As an object which interacts through function and symbolism with the user, the vase also communicates with the viewer through pictorial narrative and figurative reflections of social values. In Section Two, The World on the Vase, these images are considered as methods of communication, with both the user and the wider community of a

series of conventional forms of identity. Here, an additional methodology is drawn upon to aid an interpretation of representational practices. This has already been outlined above. Influenced by a critical engagement with visual language, Chapter Four, Constructing Lived-Experience, considers how an image on a painted vase was in dialogue with conventional forms of community living and gendered experience. For instance, representations of kraters in sympotic scenes are examined as symbols of masculinity. Resulting from its use in the communal drinking context, the krater is imbued with masculine desire and consumptive pleasures. In opposition, femininity is manifested in the loutrophoros as essentially beautiful and domestic. These gendered images worked with conventional definitions of gender and collective experience, and become a way of communicating with the user as another member of society.

Chapter Five, Constructing Transgression, interacts with Chapter Four by considering erotic imagery and the erotic physicality of the vase. Representations of erotica are determined by conventional desire and sexuality. To add a further dimension to this chapter, an interpretation of the meaning erotica as in contention with transgressing of taboos is assisted by George Bataille's study. As a secondary element to the erotic experience of the vase, the physicality and touch transforms certain vessels into substitute for sexual partners. Human anatomy also becomes a physical characteristic of the vase. In this process the vase becomes an extension of the human body.

Drawing this study to a close in the Conclusion, attention returns to the askos which opened this Introduction. By combining the components of this study, noticeably the significance of context, function and functionality, the askos is radically reinterpreted and reinvented as an artefact with an archaeological history. How can the find-context of the askos in the Kerameikos not be of significance to its experience?

This study offers an understanding of the vase which takes into consideration the factors of its production and circulation. The vase is not discussed as a reflection of society, but as an object which interacted with society as though it was a social other. If the surface did not depict an episode from Athenian society, the function of the vase was used to form an important connection between itself and the relational context. An interpretation which fails to consider the

vase as subject to relational context is misguided. Here, discussion argues for a focus on the meaning of the vase in society, not the reflection of society on the vase.

WORLD OF THE VASE: CHAPTER ONE

DOMESTIC POTS:

THE VASE IN HOUSEHOLDS AND TAVERNS

Figure 1.1: Mosaic in the andron of the house on Menander Street, Athens

In this first chapter the vase is re-situated in the households and taverns of Athens. These relational contexts provide a venue for the circulation of the vase, which arrived as a commodity with economic value, and remained as a performative object with social agency. As outlined in the Introduction, this transformation from commodity to social agent was due to an accumulation of meaning in the life of the vase. This object provoked a response in the user, then making it possible to act as a manifestation of social relations. Here, the vase is a secondary-agent, gaining agency through interaction with another. Beginning with the household and tavern, whose influences on the vase were drawn from the social institution of the symposium, has had

a dramatic effect upon scholarly approaches to the vase.[1] These two relational contexts are explored together under the term domestic, which is defined here as private and concerned with an individual or family unit. The emphasis on private relates to the separation between public contexts, such as meeting places and institutional buildings, and the environment of establishments and households outside the official controls of the *polis*. It would be overly simplistic to make a binary distinction between public and private, as the household and other establishments were indirectly influenced by the wider *polis*.[2] Both relational contexts, the household and tavern, had a significantly varied effect upon the performance of the vase, for instance, in the domestic world the vase is both a social facilitator and a ritual offering.

Archaeological evidence for both contexts is generally "patchy" and incomplete amongst the modern buildings of Athens; however, there remains enough material to gain a significant insight into the experience of the vase.[3] With particular regard for the domestic context, emphasis is placed upon size as a component of the functionality of the vase. Size is defined quite literarily as the variance in the dimensions of the vase, which resulted in a confused understanding of the relationship between function and shape. Certain vessels in particular were produced in a great variety of sizes, for example, the kylix or cup varies in diameter from 12cms to more than 46cms. Similarly, the lekythos appears in squat form at 14cms high, to later white-ground examples, measuring up to 48cms.[4] This discussion explores the impact such variation in size had upon the experience of the vase, with a focus on miniature cups, measuring little more than 1cm high. Before considering these issues, discussion begins by establishing a definition of the symposium aided by archaeological evidence.

Without considering the basic questions of what the vase did in the relational contexts in which it found itself, we cannot hope to understand a society through the vase, until we have understood how society worked with the vase. Here, the intention is to uncover this process.

Two Rooms on Menander Street and the Symposium

On the northern edge of the ancient city of Athens, the 1966 excavations of the Greek

[1] For an example of this, see Lissarrague (1990) and (1994) in particular.
[2] For an extensive discussion on the distinction between public and private, see Cohen (1992) 71-97, Cohen explains that the intrusion into the private sphere of the household was key to democratic ideals, and therefore broke down the boundaries of public and private.
[3] Nevett (1994) 101, Allison (1999) 6. For brief details of excavated houses in Athens, see Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 173ff, Travlos (1980) 392-9, Graham (1974) 45-54 and Camp (1992) 145ff.
[4] For a detailed examination of the construction and size of Athenian vases, see Schreiber (1999)

Archaeological Service unearthed two elaborate mosaic floors from a fourth-century house, now referred to as 'the house on Menander Street'.[5] The anteroom, a circle within a square, has a pebble mosaic with griffins in the corner. While only a small section of mosaic from the second room survives, depicting two griffins attacking a stag, this and the entrance through an off-centre doorway has led archaeologists to identify this room as the *andron* and the anteroom. Both of these rooms are typically associated with the domestic symposium – the use of domestic is significant here (fig.1.1).[6]

The institution of the symposium in its archetypal form was essential to the formulation of social relationships within Greek society from c.750 B.C onwards. As Phocylides states, the ideal mood was one of restraint and order; “As the cups are going around at a party, you should sit there and chatter pleasantly as you drink your wine”.[7] Evidently, such ideals were not always upheld, as the symposium is also heralded as a place of misbehaviour and anti-establishment feeling, particularly during the democracy.[8] Murray provides the following definition of the symposium as a ritualised, aristocratic and all male activity; “The time of 'drinking together' (*symposion)* was separated from the meal before it (*deipnon*) and became the main focus of attention. The male participants wore garlands, and libations and prayers began and ended the proceedings. The Greeks adopted the practice of reclining on the left elbow (one or two to a couch); from this evolved a characteristic shape of room, and a standard size for the drinking group.”[9] Although Murray refers to the domestic location, the implication of having such an institution within the household is not discussed. By inserting 'domestic' before symposium, Nevett makes a significant distinction which allows for variations in experience and venues, as well as directly confronting the location of the archetypal symposium within the domestic zone.[10] The non-domestic symposium, similar in form to the domestic symposium, could take place in government buildings, or within sanctuary complexes. However, the location of the “key masculine activity” within the household, Nevett argues, contradicts our understanding of gendered space, and questions the emphasis placed upon the *andron* as being a separate

[5] *Deltion* 22, 1967.
[6] Graham (1974) 51, Wycherley (1978) 243-244, Travlos (1980) 392-9, see Bergquist (1994) for architecture of symposia, Nevett (2010) 47-48.
[7] Athen.10.428b .Translation Olson (2009).
[8] For example mutilation of the hermes was thought to have been perpetrated by a drinking group, see Murray (1990) 149-161 and Osborne (1985) 47-67.
[9] Murray, O. ‘Symposium’, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 3rd Revised (2003) 1461.
[10] Nevett (2010) 43.

world; in reality, this could only have been temporary.[11] Davidson discusses the transformative power of the sympotic space over the guests; "Within the little *andron* the drinkers could travel long distances".[12] In a similar vein, Lissarrague explores the powerful experience of drinking wine within such a closed environment, and suggests that drinkers may "...take an excursion outside oneself", whilst being confronted with painted vases acting as reflections of the drinkers and their values.[13] Neer suggests that the images painted on vases reflect the politicial and social stance of those attending symposium. Furthermore, Neer argues that the chief function of Attic pottery was in the symposium, and therefore, the institution and its culture can be used to illuminate the painted image.[14] In Neer's words, "Attic pottery is symposium furniture".[15]

Opposition to this socially polarized view of the symposium has considered the practice of less formal domestic drinking. Fisher suggests that drinking in Athens was done on a much more flexible basis; "Meanwhile, 'ordinary' Athenians (and metics) no doubt drank and snacked a great deal and quite cheaply sitting in or outside their local bars, or they took the necessary food and drink home or out on shared picnics."[16] More flexible still are the carts referred to by Alexis, suggesting than some alcohol providers were transportable and likely to be found by springs, selling wine to be drunk straight away.[17] Furthermore, Fisher also argues for the social mobility of the period, suggesting that the majority of Athenians did have the chance to experience communal drinking, and emphasises an increasingly democratising influence on the symposium.[18] By the end of the fifth century, Wilkins suggests that the symposium was no longer an elite pastime. Elaborate drinking rituals were now available in public dining contexts, discussed in Chapter Two, and comedy of this period played upon a wide interest and knowledge of drinking activities which took a sympotic form. Wilkins states that drinking at the tavern should be seen alongside other forms of commensality, which took place at home, in less formal situations.[19] A less rigid definition of the symposium needs to be adopted, which does

[11] Nevett (2010) 49.
[12] Davidson (1997) 44.
[13] Lissarrague (1990) 11.
[14] Neer (2002) 9-26
[15] Neer (2002) 10
[16] Fisher (2000) 355.
[17] Alexis 9.5 Kassel-Austin *Poetae Comici Graeci* (De Gruyter, 1991) Volume 2. For a brief discussion of the fragment and its place within the drinking facilities of Athens, see Davidson (1997) 55-56 and Kelly-Blazeby (2008) 33-35.
[18] Fisher (2000) 355.
[19] Wilkins (2000) 207.

not result in the majority of Athenians drinking only at the tavern.[20]

Archaeological evidence for the widespread practice of the symposium within the domestic context – which is generally limited to the architectural evidence of *androns*, mosaics and raised borders - varies depending first, on the period discussed, and second, upon the definition of the symposium applied to the evidence. For instance, was the *andron* essential for hosting symposia? Recently, Lynch has challenged the elite status of the symposium during the Late Archaic period by suggesting that the dramatic increase in sympotic pottery excavated from domestic areas was due to an increase in participation in communal drinking. This is not supported by an increase in *androns* in households.[21] In the pre-Classical period, there is no architectural evidence for the symposium and it is only during the fifth century that clear evidence of *androns* begin to emerge.[22] In a recent publication, Lynch has conducted the first contextualised symposium in a late archaic house discussed shortly in this chapter.[23] Up to this point an analysis of material culture is the only way to understand the spread of communal drinking in the pre-Classical period.

Certain scholarship on this subject has a tendency to treat material culture, particularly painted vases, as substitutes for definitive architectural evidence. Used as an interpretative support for textual references, the usefulness of material culture is limited.[24] Futhermore, an emphasis upon the image and form of the vase over and above function, results in a disregard for plain black-glazed tableware which represents the majority of the ceramic material in Athens.[25] Of particular interest to Greek cultural historians is the large quantity of so-called sympotic scenes, which depict groups of reclined drinkers. Peaking around 500 B.C, these scenes are fairly generic with no specific iconographic features to contextualise the image. Architectural features such as columns are depicted alongside objects such as tables, leading to a confused amalgamation of the contexts could be domestic, civic or religious.[26] For example, a tondo of a red-figure cup, dated to 510 B.C and excavated from a shaft on Kolonos Agoraios, alongside the temple of Hephaistos, depicts a youth reclining and playing kottabos (fig.1.2).[27]

[20] For this suggestion, see Davidson (1997) 59-60.
[21] Lynch (2007) 243, 247 and forthcoming.
[22] Nevett (2010) 50-55.
[23] Lynch (2011).
[24] For example, Keuls (1993) and Kilmer (1993), for this point see Nevett (2010) 57.
[25] See Rotroff (1997) for red figured vases in context.
[26] Nevett (2010) 58, Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 18-20.
[27] G 6:3, P 1274. All grid references and vase numbers are taken from the Agora Excavations, specifically Moore (1997).

The youth holds a skyphos and flicks wine from a cup. The youth is described as reclining on a couch, and yet the feet of the couch are not visible.[28] There is nothing in this image which provides context. Another example, this time a fragment of a red-figure krater, dated roughly to the late fifth, early fourth century, was excavated from a cistern in the residential area behind South Stoa I. The fragment depicts the lower half of a woman, standing alongside a couch and on the decorated frieze of the border, which acts as a mosaic floor. The couch is clearly recognisable due to its pronounced legs (fig.1.3).[29] In front of the couch is a table, which suggests the presence of food. The combination of food and drink in the same scene confuses the timing of the symposium as after a meal. Caution should be taken when interpreting these scenes as depictions of domestic symposia.

Painted pottery cannot be reduced to the status of illustrative data. However, this is frequently the case, and demonstrated in the lack of care taken when recording the finds of pottery during excavations of houses in Athens. This results in an inability to use such finds as reconstructions of the domestic environment, its life cycle and lifestyle of the inhabitants.[30] This concern is expressed by Ault and Nevett; “Such an attitude to the material suggests that the main interest of the objects found in the houses was still perceived as being intrinsic to those objects themselves rather than lying in the picture created by the assemblages as a whole”.[31] An approach of this type fails to engage with the connection between contexts and objects.

The approach of this study perceives the vase as an artefact firmly attached to context which results in an accumulation of meaning. Gosden and Marshall refer to this processs as the cultural biography of objects, stating; “Not only do objects change through their existence, but they often have the capability of accumulating histories, so that the present significance of an object derives from the persons and events to which it is connected”.[32] It is this capability, and the performance of the vase which forms a connection between people and things, that in turn results in the vase being able to act as a social agent within a relational context.

In the domestic context, the vase was both a social facilitator during the symposium and a ritual object during ritual practice. This chapter aims to consider both. However, the use of the vase during communal drinking activitues is not restricted to the symposium, which is not rigidly

[28] Moore (1997) 342.
[29] P 26061.
[30] Ault and Nevett (1999) 45, 49.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Gosden and Marshall (1999) 170.

defined as elite, but as a widespread social event. An exploration into the domestic experience of the vase begins here, first with an analysis of the domestic context, followed by an analysis of the use of size as an evocation for the ritualised meaning of the vase.

Domestic Space

The ancient city was densely populated with houses crammed into narrow and crooked streets, providing little in the way of privacy – an issue solved by the architecture of the house.[33] The overall standard of a house tended to be modest with few generalised features in their appearance and form.[34] Evidence is limited, particularly for fifth-century houses, which were destroyed and then rebuilt in the fourth century.[35] The area around the Areopagus, particularly the northwest, became a centre for dwellings in the Late Archaic and increased in popularity in the Classical period. The Kolonos Agoraios was also a domestic zone, but now only badly worn outlines remain.[36] The only excavated block of Classical period housing lies south of South Stoa I, on the north foot of the Areopagus.[37] In the direction of the Pynx, houses of craftsman have been identified, which seem to have functioned as both domestic space and workshop. There is general variation in the size of the houses, and little evidence for the purpose each room served, but there is evidence of metal and stonework in the fourth century.[38]

Interpretations based upon these generalisations are limited, and raise fundamental questions regarding the significance of archaeological evidence. In relation to these issues, Allison makes a key point; "A household is an ethnographic phenomenon, not an archaeological one".[39] Archaeology provides knowledge of the architectural form of the house. However, these features rarely identify the room of each room, let alone the inhabitant's lived experience. And yet certain scholars still attempt to interpret this evidence through literature, which describes a binary opposition between the genders, embodied by space - men migrated towards the *andron* for symposia, whilst the women stayed in their own quarter, secluded and busy with their weaving. This understanding of the segregated household is derived from texts, which refer in

[33] Nevett (2001) 88. See also Nevett (2011) 576-596.
[34] Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 174, Travlos (1980) 392-399, Camp (1992) 145ff.
[35] Nevett (2001) 81.
[36] For reports on the area, see Shear (1971) and (1975).
[37] Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 179.
[38] Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 173ff and Tsakirgis (2005) 67-82.
[39] Allison (1999) 2.

detail to gender specific space.[40] Some scholars have emphasised the seclusion of women which prevented them entirely from operating in society.[41] However, supporting archaeological evidence is limited as rooms in the household were flexible, leaving no archaeological evidence for the women's quarter, and suggesting that such a distinction was "conceptual and behavioural".[42] The types of activity carried out by women in more industrious households, such as processing foods, making clothes and spinning, were all portable.[43] So flexible was the function of the rooms in a Greek house that Foxhall has stated in her study of food preparation, that 'kitchen' is an inappropriate word to use when describing any one room. Rather, cooking occurred in various locations throughout the house, and rarely was there even a fixed hearth.[44] The *andron* is the only fixed room in the house, when it occurs, and even in this case, it is likely that it acted as a kind of reception room, a hosting area for guests during wedding feasts and perhaps funeral rituals.[45] This room both concealed guests during communal drinking, and connected the household to society through rites of passage.

The Academy philosopher Polemon emphasises the inherent connection between household and society; "The character of the individual household is the same as that of the city as a whole".[46] However, Aristotle states that the head of a household had the right to make his own rules.[47] The household and its inhabitants are at once part of wider society, whilst retaining some individuality.[48] Studies into household activity must accommodate such variations by cautioning against a normalising effect.

An interpretation which combines textual and architectural evidence of domestic space fails to consider the interaction between the household and wider society. As an alternative approach, emphasis needs to be shifted to the material culture excavated from the household.

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[40] See for example, Xenophon *Oeconomicus* 9.5 and Lysias *On the Killing of Eratosthenes* 1.9. For a discussion of these texts, see Pomeroy (1995).
[41] Keuls (1985) 82-112. For a summary of scholarship on the topic of seclusion and status, see Pomeroy (1994) 57-60. This has become a contentious issue, with several scholars emphasising the contrast between reality and the ideal, as well as the complex social realities of role divisions. See Cohen (1996) 134ff on this issue, and the edited collection by Golden and Toohey (2003).
[42] Jameson (1990) 192, Nevett (1994) 103 and Antonaccio (2000) 518ff for the lack of cohesion between archaeology and texts. See also Walker (1993) who examines case studies of houses, one in Athens. Walker suggests that seclusion was priviledge only afforded to the wealthy, and evidence for gender segregation difficult to find.
[43] Jameson (1990) 183ff.
[44] Foxhall (2007) 233-242 and Foxhall (1989) 23, "property was used by households, not individuals".
[45] Goldberg (1999) 134.
[46] Polemon*, Athen*. 10.442e.
[47] Aristotle *Magna Moralia* 1194b5-24, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1134b15.
[48] Allison (1990) 1-5 and Nevett (2001) 29.

Such material can provide an insight into the behaviour and ideologies of the inhabitants.[49] With these issues in mind it is possible to explore the interaction between the vase and the domestic relational context. With this intention discussion focuses upon several deposits of pottery excavated from domestic contexts. In this relational context, the vase is both an item of tableware and a ritualised object. Beginning with a Late Archaic domestic deposit, which strongly indicates the practice of domestic symposia, discussion evolves to consider the transformation of the vase into miniature form as the result of ritual practice.

Late Archaic House

During the Agora excavations of 1994 and 1995 archaeologists discovered a well in the northwest corner of the Agora, beneath the foundations of the Augustan temple and north of the Altar of Aphrodite (J 2:4).[50] The pottery from the well dates between 510-480 B.C., with the well appearing to go out of use by 497 B.C. The majority of its fill dates to the Post-Persian clear up, but unlike the majority of deposits made in this period this well contains a near-complete domestic ceramic collection from a single household.[51] The top layer of the fill represents the actual period of use of the well, containing mainly coarse ware vessels, such as hydriai, amphorae, kadoi and pitchers, used to carry water. The layer beneath is the destruction layer, in which masses of pottery seem to have been deliberately discarded. This layer provided fifty catalogued vessels, and some survived almost intact. In Lynch's recent extended study of this household deposit, the material is contextualised archaeologically, specifically in the symposium, and furthermore within the house. Lynch emphasises the interrelationships of context and the evidence for domestic symposium.[52]

A whole range of shapes are represented here, kitchen and coarse ware, as well as black-glazed and figured pieces. This tableware suggests that the material culture of the household was defined by the domestic symposium and forms of communal drinking.[53] A further unusual aspect to this deposit is that the numbers of black-figure vases are equal to that of red-figure, demonstrating a developed interest in decorated wares, alongside eight black-glazed kylikes or cups. The figured vases have been discussed in some detail as particular examples

[49] Allison (1999) 6.
[50] Camp (1996) 242ff.
[51] Camp (1996) 245.
[52] Lynch (2011) 3, for detailed analysis of deposit J 2:4, see 5-48.
[53] Lynch (forthcoming) 16, Camp (1996) 245.

reflect a communal drinking environment.[54] For instance, a red-figure pelike, attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter and dated between 500-480 B.C depicts the effects of alcohol (fig.1.4a/b).[55] Side A shows a bearded figure, carrying a lyre with a basket attached. He is naked except for a pair of boots, which suggest that he is outside, and a loose drape. Side B shows a similarly dressed youth in boots, vomiting whilst he leans against his staff. The image forms a connection with the intended function of the pelike. This vessel was a storage jar with an unsual oval body. Its contents were likely to be wine. When considered in relation to this relational context, the pelike and its image emphasizes the practice of communal drinking. Resulting from these factors, the image becomes an aspect of the pelike's function. A second example, a red-figure cup attributed to the Epeleios Group, dated between 500-480 B.C., depicts a youth inside a wash basin or krater (fig.1.5).[56] His muscular torso faces the viewer, while his head turns to the side. In his hands he holds two short sticks, and he appears to be raising his legs in turn, as appropriate for treading grapes. Such examples are common, giving the impression that the naked youth makes the wine, as well as personifying the pleasure of drinking.[57]

The pelike and cup discussed from this deposit represent the interaction between image and function, and the impact of relational context to an understanding of the vase. A final example from this deposit is a large black-figure skyphos, attributed to the 'White Heron Group', and dated to roughly 500 B.C (fig.1.6).[58] This scene is complex and unique, showing a group of two banqueters, separated by musicians on each side, one female and one male. The banqueters recline on a single mattress, and are likely aided by cushions. Confusing a straightforward interpretation of this scene, the banqueters wear unusual headdresses, with animal ears and horns, they are heavily draped and groups of long necked birds, totalling thirteen, gather around the handles of the cup. Camp has suggested that this could be a dramatic scene or depiction of cultic activity.[59] Although this is speculation, it seems probable due to the unique aspect of the headdress and the birds. Significantly, the banqueting is taking place outside, and perhaps represents a rustic communal drinking event.[60] In addition, the skyphos is of an unconventional size. Measuring 16.2cms in height, 22.35cms in diameter and

[54] See Camp (1996) 245ff and Lynch (2011).
[55] P 32418.
[56] P 32419.
[57] See Chapter Four, 'The Krater in a Man's World' 123-129.
[58] P 32413.
[59] Camp (1996) 246.
[60] See Lynch (2007) and (forthcoming) and (2011).

29.7cms in width, this skyphos is unusually large in comparison to another cup-skyphos in this deposit. One is markedly smaller, measuring 7.6cms in height, 14.3cms in diameter and 21.3cms in width.[61] This enlarged surface area had a capacity for more wine, which encouraged the user to consume more alcohol. It is as though the skyphos was a drinking companion, sitting alongside the user. And yet, the image depicts a consumptive environment beyond the conventional symposium.

The krater is conspicuously absent from the deposit, not one krater was excavated from the destruction layer. This is in apparent contradiction to the masses of tableware discovered, as the krater is generally considered the essential element of Athenian drinking practice. As the embodiment of communal drinking, the krater is frequently depicted in at the centre of drinking scenes.[62] As a vessel for mixing wine with water, it appears to signpost the correct form of drinking, as well as the desires of the drinkers.[63] This issue is returned to in Chapter Four.

In the absence of the krater, is it possible that the participants drank their wine unmixed, risking the negative effects of over consumption?[64] Lynch suggests that the inhabitants used another vessel to mix their wine.[65] Alternatively, the inhabitants could have bought their alcohol already mixed from a local wine shop or taverna to drink at home. Without andron and without kraters, the inhabitants of the nearby household drank wine in a context that lacked the two apparently essential components of the symposium. Therefore, the evidence from this deposit, and the common absence of architectural features fitting for the symposium, provides the perfect antidote to rigid definitions of communal drinking.

Returning to the importance of size exaggeration, demonstrated so far by the cup-skyphos, this component of the vase had a significant effect upon function and experience. Shortly the vastly reduced in size will be considered, at this point attention is turned to enlargments. The deposit from the Late Archaic house provides no further examples. Indeed, large vessels from this late archaic and classical period are rarely discovered in Athens. However, excavations outside Athens have uncovered many examples, particular oversized lekythoi and cups. For instance, early black-figure lekythoi measured between 14-18cms in

[61] P 32423.
[62] See Luke (1994) on the significance of the krater to the symposium.
[63] See Chapter four.
[64] See Davidson (1997) 46-47 for discussion of correct mixture of water and wine.
[65] Lynch (forthcoming) 16.

height and expanded later in the white-ground red-figure style to between 20-48cms in height. This is magnified in the huge lekythoi produced at the end of the fifth century measuring 70cm-100cms high.[66] Huge lekythoi stood up to a metre tall as prominent grave markers. Some were bottomless, rendering redundant the containing capacity of the lekythos. Evidently, the visual impact of the huge lekythos was its function.

Cups ranged between a 12cms diameter to more than 46cms, the smallest measuring no more than a child's hand, and the largest just under the length of a medium adult's torso. When used in the domestic relational context, size would have determined the function of the vase. Several examples of extra large cups survive, resulting in a confused understanding of how the user would actually use them. For example, a red-figure cup, attributed to Onesimos and produced in the first quarter of the fifth century, now in Malibu, has a generous diameter of 46.5cms.[67] This would mean that the handles of the vessel would stand at least 10cms from the side of the face when drawn up. The vessel depicts a komos scene, with a naked woman between two youths on each side. On the tondo, a partly draped youth aids a naked bearded man who is vomiting. Although typically without concrete indicators of context, the garland worn by the bearded man in the tondo scene is commonly interpreted as an iconographic feature of the symposium.[68] A second cup, this time in black-figure, attributed to Lysippides, dated between 550-500 B.C and now in London, has a diameter of 53cms, just under 7cms larger than the Malibu cup.[69] The London cup depicts a complex exterior scene, featuring an Amazonomachy, Herakles and Athena. The scenes on both sides appear between two sets of large eyes, transforming the cup into a face or mask when brought towards the lips for sipping.[70] On the tondo, Dionysus appears on a mule, carrying a kantharos, and accompanied by satyrs and maenads. Vines complete the connection between the contents of the cup and wine. The dimensions of the Malibu and London cups controlled the behaviour of the user in two ways; first, its diameter has an effect upon the way in which the cup was used, as these examples present a greater effort for the user when drinking. Second, the expanse of the cup dramatically increased the amount of wine consumed. With the addition of larger than life sized eyes, the

[66] See Schreiber (1999) on kylikes and lekythoi, see Kurtz (1975) 68-73.
[67] Getty Museum, 86.AE.285.
[68] Examples of images where the drinkers wear garlands; Florence, Mus. Arch. 3956, New York, Met. Mus.20246, Tarquinia 6823.
[69] London, British Museum B426.
[70] Discussion returns to the eye-cups in detail in Chapter Five.

London cup transforms into an exaggerated human face, absorbing the identity of the drinker.

By controlling the behaviour of the user, this variety of large cups altered the way in which the vessels were used. Dimensionality draw attention to experience of the cup that the user would take for granted. When expanded to this degree, it is not certain how such vessels were used. Could such a cup actually be used for drinking by the individual or a shared group, or did it have a purely decorative function?[71] Depicted in a sympotic scene on a red-figure cup by Douris, discussed in detail in Chapter Four, drinkers recline on couches beneath large cups suspended above (fig.4.5).[72] These cups appear to be the same size as the ones in use by the drinkers, and therefore no longer than the drinker's arm. If cups with the dimensions of the London and Malibu vessels were hung in this way, they would take up a significant amount of visual space.

The very impracticality of these cups leads to a significant encounter with functionality. The production and circulation of these cups, limited to a small percentage of the overall out of Athenian potters, encouraged the user to think about how they used and experienced normal sized vessels. An element of playfulness and an interest in manipulating preconceptions of function surely led to their production. By exaggerating the cup, attention was drawn to convention function and experience. Such a vessel would interact with the user by provoking a response perhaps of surprise, amusement or amazement. It is not so much what the large cups did as what they did not do. They failed to perform practically, and yet, they still provided an experience. In the second part of Domestic Space the opposite of this experience is considered, when vessels are produced in miniature versions specifically for a ritualised context.

Those Ritual Pyres

As well as being the centre of family life, the household was part of the individual contribution to the collective religious life of the *polis*. Domestic ritual was another aspect of living in a "complex and many-layered religious life".[73] Such practices could be associated with the public face of the family, such as introducing a son or wife into a phratry through a feast, or with the private face of

[71] Examples of images where pots are displayed on the walls; Florence, Mus. Arch 3922, Paris, Mus. Louvre G140, see Florence, Mus. Arch. 73749 for use of pottery as the board of the image.
[72] Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 3922.
[73] Parker (2005) 51.

the family, bringing a new member of the family to the hearth to be accepted by Hestia.[74] The household worshipped domestic forms of Panathenian gods; Zeus Ktesios, Zeus Herkeios, Apollo Aguieus, and Hecate, amongst others. The ritual practices which accompanied such worship frequently involved the use of pots.[75] Autokleides refers to the domestic rituals associated with Zeus Ktesios that required a two-handled jar, a kadiskos, with a lid; "which was hung with white wool and filled with a mixture of pure water, olive oil, and all fruits".[76] Similar rituals are referred to as 'foundation with pots' when the food inside the pots, and therefore the pot itself, are transformed into an offering for the gods.[77] As a result of the ritualised context, the pots used here took on a different meaning and became ritualised objects used to communicate with the gods. This meaning and transformation was determined by a social investment in the vase.

For the purposes of exploring this process, discussion here focuses upon the so-called ritual pyres which had a very definite effect upon the meaning and function of the vase. This manifested itself in the size of the vessel used during this ritual. In a radical contrast to the oversized cups discussed above, those found buried in ritual pyres were substantially miniaturised. For instance, the vessel might take the form of a standard sized casserole, but the dimensions of the vessel prevent the function related to this form. In other words, the casserole might look like a casserole, but due to the power of the ritualised context, the casserole was something else entirely. The function of the casserole transformed into functionality. To meet this requirements such miniature vessels were produced with the intention of being used within a ritualised context.

Ritual pyres were common amongst houses and workshops in Athens towards the end of the fifth century and continuing into the third century. Curiously, these pyres are never found in the Agora, which suggests that the practice had a uniquely domestic meaning. A typical pyre comprised of a small shallow pit, in a variety of shapes, with evidence of burnt offerings, bits of calcined bone and broken pottery which tended to be miniatures in a limited range of shapes. Such a pyre was discovered in the House of Mikion and Menon, a small residence and industrial establishment on the northeast slope of the Areopagus, near the intersection of

[74] As mentioned above, without a permanent fixture of a hearth, archaeological evidence can provide little information for such practices.
[75] For reference to pot-ritual at a temple, see Athenaeus 11.462.b-c.
[76] Autokleides Fragment 1, FGrH 353F, Translation Parker (2005) 16.
[77] Parker (2005) 20.

Piraeus and South Street.[78] Although the property was occupied over an extended period it suffered damage and was eventually abandoned towards the end of the fourth century. The names of the first and last craftsman survive on an inscribed tool and on the base of a black-glazed cup. Some time after the occupation of the establishment, a ritual pyre was set against the conglomerate orthostates of the southeast wall and in the line of the wall. The only way this was possible would be after the destruction and abandonment of the building.[79] The pyre contained only three items; a coarse cooking pot with small bones inside, probably of a bird or chicken, and covered by a saucer with a miniature black-glazed olpe alongside.[80] The pottery dates towards the end of the fourth century, and the pyre was most likely dug in the beginning of the third century. The cap between the abandonment of the house at the end of the fourth century and the subsequent digging of the pyre at the beginning of the third century suggests that someone returned to perform this ritual, much like family and friends visiting a grave.

An understanding of this practice is supported only by archaeological evidence, as the ritual makes no appearance in any surviving texts, leaving the recipient deity of the offering unknown. The ritual practice must be seen as an assemblage of ritualised objects and context. When such discoveries were first made in the Industrial District, Young focused his interpretation on the bones, suggesting that the pyres contained cremated infants, naming them 'pyre burials'. This interpretation was considered dubious at the time, as infant cremations are virtually unknown.[81] More recent interpretation emphasises a possible connection with the Underworld and chthonic ritual, in honour of the dead or to mark work done to the building.[82] The intention behind such ritual practice remains enigmatic.[83]

During excavations of the lower slopes of the Areopagus to the west and north-west a total of twenty-seven ritual pyres were discovered, seventeen of which were found *in-situ* in houses and workshops (fig.1.7).[84] To determine the importance of the vessels buried in these pyres, detailed discussion focuses upon two such pyres. Significantly, the majority of vessels

[78] Shear (1969) 383-394.
[79] F 16:7.
[80] P 27913, P 27912, P 27911.
[81] Young (1951a) 110-130, Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 16, Knigge and Kovacsovics (1981) 388, Jordon and Rotroff (1999) 147.
[82] Jordon and Rotroff (1999) 147, see Rotroff (1997) 212-217.
[83] Parker (2005) 20.
[84] The term 'pyre burial' has since been replaced with 'ritual pyre' as the theory of infant burial has been largely rejected.

were most likely produced specifically for ritual use and are only rarely found in other contexts.[85] Vessels such as dummy alabastra of poros, shallow plates with glazed bands, miniature lidded pyxides in black-glaze, miniature cooking pots and casseroles are unique to this context and have not been found in ordinary household deposits.[86]

The first example, known as 'Pyre 2', was a stone covered pyre excavated in House B, and dated to the third quarter of the fourth century (fig.1.8).[87] The pyre contained scattered bones and a number of pots, which had been thrown on top of smouldering embers; a dummy alabastron of poros, a lamp, two black-glazed cup-kantharoi, a black-glazed skyphos, a miniature lidded pyxis, black-glazed salt cellar, saucer with furrowed rim, two banded plates, miniature cooking pot and five miniature glazed saucers (fig.1.9, illustration does not include miniature cooking ware).[88] The dummy alabastron of poros is particularly interesting here; not only is it associated with archaic funerary pyres, the vessel was also completely solid, giving it, in the words of Young, "an entirely symbolic significance".[89] The practical uselessness of the alastron is not discovered until the user picks up the vessel, however the uselessness of the miniature cooking vessels is immediately apparent. The miniature cooking pot measures 6.4cms in height and 9.9cms in diameter, and was made from micaceous materials with the property to sustain intense heat. This is significant, and suggests that although the cooking pot was not intended to be used as a full size example, the fire retardant material was still used. In later pyres, vessels such as this begin to be made from ordinary household fabric, emphasising their function as purely votive.[90] In this case however, these specially produced miniatures complied with standard form. The miniature glazed saucers measure between 1.1 and 1.4cms in height and 4.8cms and 6.4cms in diameter, smaller than the palm of a hand, compared to the full size rimmed saucer at 1.5cms high and 11.2cms diameter, almost twice its size.

Houses C and D each contained more than one ritual pyre in separate locations. Pyres were found in room four, six, eight, and twelve in House C, beginning at the end of the fourth century, with the last placed possibly later than the beginning of the second century – two

[85] Rotroff (1997) 213.
[86] Young (1951a) 112.
[87] Young (1951a) 115-116.
[88] For inventory numbers see Young (1951a) 115.
[89] Young (1951a) 111, for examples in the Kerameikos see Schlörb-Vierneisel (1966).
[90] Jordon and Rotroff (1999) 148.

centuries after its abandonment.[91] 'Pyre 8' in House C, room 6 ran over the foundations of the house walls, placed after the abandonment of the house (fig.1.10).[92] The pyre contained several pots common in this context; dummy poros alabastron, mesomphalic black-glazed cup, black-glazed kantharos, black-glazed pyxis and lid, two furrowed rimmed saucers, two banded plates, two miniature cooking pots, two miniature lidded casseroles and four miniature saucers (fig.1.11). The miniature cooking pots and one of the miniature lidded casseroles were made out of conventional cook ware fabric.

This practice of revisiting and attending an abandoned household is reminiscent to the cult of the dead, hero worship and tomb cult during the Classical period. Bronze and Iron Age burials were reused to create tomb cult by placing ceramic offerings for the dead and making a significant statement regarding a family's ancestry. A connection between the original burials and those interred later became a crucial expression of power.[93] Although the house was most likely occupied within the living memory when the ritual pyre was dug, perhaps a similar concept of ancestry and origin can be inferred from this practice.

The performance and the effect of these ritual pyres upon the function/ality of the vase are dramatically different to that of communal drinking, but no less context dependent. With the intention of considering the nature of this ritual, discussion focuses upon characteristics of this practice. First, the pottery in the pyre was carefully chosen for shape and size, as stated above some vessels are unique to this context, and were produced for this particular context. Second, the ritual itself was violent, involving the apparent intentional smashing of the pots when each was thrown into the pyre as the flames began to smoulder.[94] An interpretation of this ritual performance is aided by Bell's influential study on ritual. When discussing exchange and communion, Bell draws attention to rituals which are not intended to have a communion effect; "As a logical corollary to this sanctification, the object offered in sacrifice is usually completely destroyed in the course of the rite, either buried to transfer the offering to the gods or consumed to share it with them".[95] As an alternative to theories which stem from Judeo-Christian tradition, Bell suggests that such practices which involve destruction can function in the following ways;

[91] Young (1951a) Pyre 6-9.
[92] Young (1951a) 124.
[93] See Antonaccio (1993) and Whitley (1994a) and (2003). For burial practices more generally, see Morris (1987) and (1992).
[94] The significance of this intentional smashing will be returned to in Chapter Three, when we examine the Crossroads Sanctuary.
[95] Bell (2009) 112.

"as a thanksgiving, the expiation of evils, and the placation of powerful deities".[96] And Bell goes on to highlight interaction; "The form of destruction can also reflect ideas about the type of human-divine interaction afforded by the rite; in some cases, total destruction of the offering appears to seal a contractual relationship". With this in mind, it is probable that the vessels in the pyres signified both a thanks offering and a pacifier to the essence of the house. By digging into the ground and reducing the pots to burnt fragments, the ritual made an integral connection with the very foundations of the house. As an essential component of this ritual practice, the form of the smashed pots had to reflect the domestic performance of the vase within the relational context. The miniaturised pots were significant not only because they could not actually be used, but because they were indicative of a use through form.

To enter into dialogue with the divine, the vase has to go through a transformation which resulted from ritual practice and context. By placing the vase in the pyre as a 'converted offering' the offerer acknowledges its religious value. This originated from the commemorative value of the artefact.[97] The power to provoke a reaction in the viewer, and engage with society, imbued the vase with a ritual animation. Although obviously different to any possession of biological life, the ritually transformed vase has a psychology and an agency apprehended by the offerer.[98] The vase is no longer simply an artefact – the relational context transforms it into something more. The pots thrown into the pyre formed a connection between the offerer and the recipient, which could have been the essence or spirit of the household and the ancestors. The pots were plain black-glazed to emphasise the importance of function and the relationship to the domestic sphere. The agency of the miniatures was firmly with the object itself, which subjected all other aspects of its production and exchange to a ritualised process. It could not fulfil any other function, and nor was it intended to. In those ritual pyres, size mattered.

Drinking for Pleasure

Between the City Wall and the Sacred Gate a structure covering five hundred square meters, referred to as Building Z, was the first to be erected in the new area after the construction of the Themistoclean wall, during the last quarter of the fifth century. This area is known as the

[96] Ibid.
[97] Whitley (forthcoming) 3-4, see also Whitley (2011) for discussion of agency and sanctuaries.
[98] Gell (1998)122-123, this argument is particularly powerful when applied to idols.

Kerameikos, the location of important cemeteries, the potter's quarter, and a region known for prostitution and drinking.[99] Although the building went through several stages of construction, the first stage, known as 'Z1' provided the structure's basic foundations. Excavations of the area by the German Archaeological Institute have given a detailed impression of the character of the structure.[100] At least fifteen rooms, opening onto sprawling corridors, as well as an extensive collection of figured tableware, over one hundred loom weights, and statuettes and amulets of goddesses, including Aphrodite, suggest behaviour within this space in contrast to conventional domestic space.[101] Working from Knigge's interpretation of the site, Davidson contextualises this space within the sex trade of Athens; "These artefacts together with the size of the site, its location and the number of its rooms indicates strongly that for most or all of its life Building Z served as a brothel and/or inn".[102] Therefore, the red-figure pyxis depicting three females alongside an altar, columns and a doorway, discovered at this site would most likely have been owned by a woman who lived and worked in Building Z.[103] The identification of Building Z is still controversial, however the combination of location, structure and the material culture provides a firm basis for this conclusion.[104]

References to prostitutes and brothels, known as *ergastēria* in law, varied from the comically ironical to the damning in the Athenian law courts.[105] And yet, according to the material culture of Building Z, drinking followed the archetype of mixing in a decorated krater, and a loom weight in nearly every room suggests that the women found other ways to earn a living, like the ordinary housewife.[106] Perhaps most oddly touching, and definitely domestic in character is the evidence of two separate sacred deposits, which makes a significant connection with the domestic practice of ritual pyres. Although the objects in these deposits, recorded as 'Opferstellen' or offering pits in the archaeological reports, have no evidence of burning or intentional damage, they offer a contrast between the sex trade of the establishment and the ritual practices of the inhabitants. After its destruction during an earthquake, two figured vases

[99] Wycherley (1957) 222.
[100] See Knigge (1991) 88-93 for summary of Building Z, for details see Knigge (1978). For more information on the excavations of the Kerameikos by the German Archaeological Institute, see the *Kerameikos* volumes.
[101] This is particular apparent in the phase Z3 of the Building Z in which loomweights were found in each room, Knigge (1991) 93.
[102] Knigge (1991) 93, Davidson (1997) 85.
[103] See Knigge (1978) fig.185. The pyxis was excavated from Z1 phase in room O
[104] This interpretation is furthered by Kelly-Blazeby (2008) in her examination of Athenian taverns, 179-182.
[105] See Davidson (1997) 83-91 for detailed references of fourth-century literature.
[106] See Knigge (1978) pl.53, 78 for an example of krater excavated from early period of the house.

were placed in an offering pit in the foundations of room thirteen. The two red-figure vases, a chous and lekythos, depict a single figure of a woman running.[107] This iconography draws attention to the women working here. A second later offering was made during phase Z2, when the structure was re-erected in the 420s B.C. Underneath the floor of room ten several miniature pots were excavated, alongside terracotta figurines of birds, a Herm, two dressed figures, a female figure and a satyr (fig.1.12). Six miniature skyphoi are plain black-glazed, but five are decorative with palmettes and outlines of human figures. A miniature lidded casserole, so common in domestic ritual pyres, is outnumbered by other types of miniatures.[108] Perhaps the character of the offering is determined by the relational context of the brothel which contained a vast amount of full size tableware used for drinking, placing less emphasis on food preparation. Even for a building situated almost outside the city walls, and very much outside mainstream society, the ritual practices of the domestic context are adhered to, but refined. The mixture of the sacred and profane was not problematised. The functionality of the pot within the ritual context created a bridge for this experience.

Even within a relational context which must evidently be so focused upon pleasure and sexual experience, the functionality of the pot enabled the inhabitants to make a connection with the divine. Pleasure is balanced out with ritual. However, in the case of the tavern, our final relational context in this chapter, pleasure is emphasised and the functionality of the vase only goes as far as an association with conventional drinking practices. Before discussion begins, time is taken to consider the characterisation of the tavern in both literary sources and archaeological evidence. The aim here is to establish a relational context in which the user privileged the function of the vase over and against any other symbolic meaning.

Taverns

The local tavern or *kapeleion* offered drinking facilities on a commercial and secular scale. Alongside the shops of the Agora, the *kapeleion* was the meeting place for citizens to discuss the issues of the day. The surviving literary references to the *kapeleion* refer to these establishments as places which encouraged negative behaviour, as both dangerous and extravagant, in opposition to the restrained consumption of the respectable man. Often highly

[107] See Knigge (1978) 119 and 120.
[108] See above discussion under 'Those Ritual Pyres' and Young (1950) and (1951a).

subjective or for comic effect, the reputation of the *kapeleion* and *kapelos/is*, or bar staff, was a disreputable one. Theopompus blames the *kapeleion* for the 'ruinous luxury' and the 'exceedingly luxurious' lifestyle of the Byzantines during the democracy; "the whole people spent the whole of their time in the market-place and about the harbour, were very intemperate, and in the constant habit of feasting and drinking at the taverns".[109] Isocrates states that "No one, not even a servant, at least not a respectable servant" would have gone into such an establishment.[110] Similarly, fourth-century orators refer to a citizen banned from the Areopagus if they were caught in the morning at a *kapeleion*.[111] And yet, at other instances, particularly in comedy, the *kapeleion* was a positive part of the local neighbourhood; "There is a taverner in our neighbourhood; and whenever I feel like a drink and go there, he knows at once – and he only knows, how I have it mixed".[112] Aristophanes' comedies reference roguish *kapelos* who consistently serve reduced helpings.[113] Further details emerge from *katadesmoi* or curse tablets, thin pieces of lead commissioned by individuals to bring the powers of Hermes and Persephone against the enemies, that were commonly bar staff.[114] These poisoned tablets provide evidence for the common place of *kapeleia* in Athens, as well as the presence of women working (and drinking) in such establishments.[115] In Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* the chorus of women curse those bar workers worst of all for serving them short measures.[116] The rage of these women illustrates the overall depiction of their gender by Aristophanes as alcoholic immoderates. It seems that women were not only workers, but frequent drinkers at such establishments. Not bound by the reputation of upperclass women, respectable wives of lower social standing could enjoy a drink at their local *kapeleion*.[117]

Archaeological evidence has not supported or refuted these depictions, especially when more mobile *kapeleia* comprised only a simple horse and cart, leaving no trace.[118] An additional problem of uncertainty occurs when attempting to identify a building as a *kapeleion*. Is it a

[109] Theopompus, Athen.13.507, translation Gulick (1937).
[110] Isocrates, translation Davidson (1997) 58.
[111] Davidson (1997)58, for references in Aristophanes see *Wealth*, 436 and *Thesm*. 347-8.
[112] Aristophanes *Wealth* 436, Translation Davidson (1997) 60.
[113] Aristophanes *Wealth* 435-436 and *Thesm*. 347-348.
[114] For further details on curse tablets in general, see Gager (1992).
[115] See in particular *IG*III 75 and *IG*III 87, Gager (1992) 151-174. For a discussion on the curse tablets relating to *kapeleion,* see Davidson (1997) 55-56 and Kelly-Blazeby (2008) 26ff.
[116] Aristophanes *Thesm*. 347-348.
[117] For a detailed examination of female drinkers and bar workers, see Kelly-Blazeby (2008) 29-33.
[118] For example, Alexis 9 K-A 1.5, see Davidson (1997a) 392 and (1997) 55-56, footnote 16. For a detailed examination of deposits which suggest the selling of wine see Lawall (2000) 3-90, particularly deposit R 13:4 and U 13:1.

kapeleion, a state run dining facility or a wealthy private household whose owners have a keen interest in drinking? Iconography, the standard reference point for other mysterious Athenian cultural aspects, is silent on the *kapeleion*, explicitly in any case, with one exception. One red-figure stemless cup, painted by Douris dated to 490-480 B.C, depicts a possible *kapeleion* (fig.1.13).[119] The tondo shows a draped youth reaching into a large amphora, supported on a stand. An inscription reads *trikotylos* or litre wine, the name for cheap local wine worth only three obols per serving – a budget choice suitable for unsophisticated drinkers.[120] Alongside the youth is a very large cistern, filled with water to make the necessary mixture of wine to water. The youth seems to be buying wine, which he tastes off a sponge, once dipped into the amphora. This sponge allows the youth to 'try before you buy'. Behind the youth is an oinochoe, suspended, suggesting that he is about to mix the wine to drink. Several aspects of this image are worth more detailed comment. First, the draped youth is holding on to a purse. This purse acts as a symbol of the commercial nature of this environment in which the youth must part with money in exchange for wine.[121] Second, the large amphora and cistern are suggestive of vast quantities of wine available for sale. Finally, the draped youth wears shoes, which is not unusual in itself, but shoes are generally depicted as part of drinking or athletic scenes, suspended or discarded underneath stools, or even silhouetted in the frame of the vase.[122] By drawing attention to the youth's shoes, the scene emphasises that he is about to guzzle down a jug of wine before he moves on to his next appointment - this *kapeleion* is a stop off.

Due to a lack of available evidence, as well as a scholarly bias towards sympotic drinking, *kapeleia* in Athens and Greece have been largely neglected. However, *kapeleia* were widespread in the Agora and the city, and particularly associated with democracy, echoed by Diogenes the Cynic; 'the taverns are the canteens of Attica'.[123] Davidson argues that the *kapeleion* was a plebeian environment, catering for those unable to attend symposia, and acted in juxtaposition to the symposium; "The distinction between symposium and *kapeleion,* then,

[119] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: LOAN392.
[120] For this translation, see Davidson (1997) 56, also Papadopoulos and Paspalas (1999) 173, footnote 44, who follow Davidson's definition. See Pritchett and Pippin (1956) for list of texts in which trikotylos occurs, 201.
[121] The marks as a mark of transaction particularly in sex-scenes; Marzabotto, Museo Nazionale Etrusco Pompeo Aria: T2, Toledo (OH), Museum of Art: 1972.55, Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland: 1954.15.
[122] See select examples; Munich, Antikensammlungen: J341, Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi: 20065, Munich, Antikensammlungen: J749.
[123] Aristotle *Rhet*.3.10.4.

was one of class and culture rather than socialization".[124] Here, Davidson acknowledges the community role of the *kapeleion*.[125] To suggest that this was distinctly plebeian seems limiting. As Wilkins points out in his approach to this issue, if all but the elite were excluded from the symposium, it seems unlikely that the *kapeleion* was the drinking place of 90% of the population.[126]

Currently, only two likely locations for *kapeleia* have been excavated in Athens. Without detailed architecture evidence interpretation is forced to rely upon the material culture from a deposit.[127] It is possible that these two deposits represent two establishments, or the debris from one larger establishment. Discussion now concentrates on examining these two deposits, and emphasis is placed upon the function/ality of the vase as a purely consumptive facilitator, demonstrated by the generic appearance of the material.

Kapeleion *beneath the Roman Stoa*

In the excavations of the Agora in 1973-4, a block of Classical shops were discovered beneath the Roman Stoa in the Agora; separated into 14 different rooms, based around three separate buildings.[128] The rooms were arranged in a series of pairs, and most had access directly from the street for customer convenience and possible owner accommodation to the rear.[129] The buildings were redeveloped several times, with a concentration on the middle of the fourth century, suggesting their continued use and popularity. The most interesting find in this complex is a well (U 13:1), whose contents suggest the type of businesses that occupied these spaces, but unfortunately, not the actual locations of each business.

The well is placed inside an open courtyard with access for the surrounding rooms (fig.1.14). The life of the well ended around 380 B.C. when access to the water was blocked off by a cave in. From then on, it was used as a dump for refuse coming out of the local businesses. Hundreds of objects have been excavated from this well, totalling 716 boxes full of broken pottery, leading to hundreds of catalogued items. Shear was able to identify three different businesses; a large scale kitchen, a tavern and a butchers, providing extensive

[124] Davidson (1997) 60, Davidson (1997a) 393.
[125] See Eubulus, *Pamphilus* fr. 80 for neighbourly quality.
[126] Wilkins (2000) 207.
[127] Possible *kapeleia*; Room Y, Kerameikos and House 7, Haleis.
[128] For excavation details, see Shear (1975) 331-374. For a later evaluation of the material, see Kelly-Blazeby (2008) 166-173.
[129] Shops attached to houses in Athens, see Young (1951) and Tsakirgis (2005).

facilities for drinking and dining. Vast quantities of cookingware were discovered in the well; 100 lopades or casseroles with 11 lids, 76 escharai, a type of cooking pot,11 complete mortars, 400 lekanai fragments, mixing bowls, cooking bell, chytrai, jugs – as well as a range of tableware; plates, small bowls, salt cellars and askoi. Numerous fish bones, shellfish remains, as well as large quantities of cattle bones suggest the type of food prepared in this kitchen and served in the *kapeleion*. The sheer quantity of material unearthed from this well makes any suggestions that this establishment functioned as a domestic dwelling untenable.

Evidence for the drinking activities of the *kapeleion* is similarly numerous. In terms of complete vessels there are relatively few compared to the hundreds of fragments, suggesting the popularity of the *kapeleion* and the resulting breakages! As Shear suggests, this is perhaps a demonstration of the type of drinking the establishment provided.[130] The well contained a variety of table and service ware; 79 complete wine jars and 280 fragments, hundreds of fragments of kraters and oinochoai and three complete table amphorae. Other fragments of amphorae suggest that wine was of the best vintage; Mendian, Chian, Corinthian, Samian, Lesbian as well as local Attic vintages. Thousands of fragments of black-glazed ware represent the bulk of drinking cups.[131] Unusual aspects of this deposit are the twenty-seven complete examples of the mushroom jug, with two handles and a rough black-glaze (fig.1.15).[132] Like the oinochoai, the mushroom jug is traditionally used for pouring, and perhaps used here to pour wine to customers.

Some figured ware was also discovered in the deposit. For example, a pair of red-figure skyphoi, dated between 400-375 B.C. are decorated with two familiar scenes of the period (fig.1.16a/b). [133] One skyphos depicts a satyr, seated on a rock playing a pipe. Standing in front of him is a draped female, likely to be a maenad, holding a thyrsos. On the reverse are two draped citizens. The second skyphos depicts a naked figure and to the left approaches a draped figure, holding a staff. On the reverse two draped males, holding staffs, face each other. Perhaps chosen for their implicit reference to wine and consumption through the satyr – associate of Dionysus – and the naked youth, these skyphoi would have been well-placed in the

[130] Shear (1975) 358. However, the majority of material seems to have been deposited around the same time, suggesting large scale damage to the establishment, see Kelly-Blazeby (2008) 170.
[131] See *kapeleion B* for examples.
[132] P 30454, for examples have been found elsewhere in the Agora, but generally uncommon, see Sparkes (1971) 66-67.
[133] P 30401.

domestic relational contexts.[134] Other examples such as two stemless-cups with interior decoration of palmettes and exterior coloured dots as well as decorated cup-skyphoi also suggest conventional communal drinking.[135] As Shear states; "although these are not outstanding pieces, they suggest that the establishment catered to a clientele of some quality".[136] Furthermore, there also survives evidence of a female presence in a fragment of a red-figure lekanis lid and two other red-figure lekanis lids, both traditionally associated with marriage and nuptial rituals.[137] The lekanis has a diameter of 27.5cms, and is decorated with scenes commonly considered nuptial. A winged Eros flies towards a woman and hands her a crown, whilst a youth, holding a spear, remains seated.

A kapeleion *south of the Stoa of Attalos*

To the east of the central Agora, south of the Stoa of Attalos, a well containing a vast amount of household and tableware was filled around 425 B.C (R13:4). Talcott's assessment of the material led to the suggestion that a *kapeleion* was once in the area "with some pretensions to elegance".[138] However, nothing survives of the physical establishment itself, which makes the ceramic material difficult to contextualise.

From over one hundred vases excavated from this well, there were 42 drinking vessels, 5 mixing bowls and 20 amphorae. Some of the storage amphorae have the Chian stamp, evidence of an expensive vintage.[139] A number of these are marked with graffiti, interpreted by Talcott as marks of price. The proportion of amphorae is vastly higher than average, with glazed ware kraters and cups as the most numerous excavated items, suggesting intense drinking activity. Over six examples of figured ware have been excavated, along with a large amount of black-glazed ware. Much of this black-glazed ware, incised and patterned stamped ware, are cups with several examples of the following; stemless kylikes, Corinthian style kotylai and one-handlers, also a few stamped cups and kantharoi. Black-glazed jugs, olpai, kraters and squat lekythoi were also discovered in threes and fours. There is further evidence of cooking activity, most likely from the same *kapeleion*; cooking pots, casseroles, mortars and plain kraters.

[134] For the iconography of Dionysus and consumption, see Carpenter (1997).
[135] P 30423 and 30417, P 30416 and P 30420.
[136] Shear (1975) 358.
[137] P 30350, P 30351, P 30352.
[138] Talcott (1935) 497, see also for full catalogue and later references in Sparkes and Talcott (1970).
[139] See Lawall (2000) for a detailed examination of such price marks, and finds from the R 13:4 well.

The most notable constrast to the deposit beneath the Roman Stoa is the quality of ware, most notable in the quantity of stamped ware.[140] A black-glazed kantharos with painted decoration of leaves and berries is a style that develops in this period, indicating a concern with current fashions (fig.1.17).[141] A red-figured calyx-krater, significantly under the average size, depicts Dionysus on side A, holding both a kantharos and a thyrsos (fig.1.18).[142] To his left is a satyr, playing a double flute, and to his right, a maenad in a Doric chiton, carrying a torch and an oinochoe. Side B shows three draped youths, one holding an elongated aryballos, associated with athletes. Further items also refer to communal drinking. A fragment of a red-figure oinochoe is decorated with a satyr.[143] A red-figured askos is decorated with a hare and eagle.[144] One piece distinctly suggests the presence of a woman in the *kapeleion*; red-figure pyxis, depicting three women, running towards a column, reminiscent of the type found in Building Z.[145] A vase not associated with communal drinking, this pyxis reflects something of the lived-experience of the inhabitants of the *kapeleion*, who perhaps lived alongside the business which they ran.

Drinking for pleasure alone is a concept often overlooked, especially when examined alongside the symposium. The ritualization of consumption has dominated scholarship, and yet, it is likely that the vast majority of the Athenian population would have enjoyed a drink in their local *kapeleion*. It would be an oversimplification to polarise commercial drinking and sympotic drinking, however the differences between these two relational contexts have varying effects upon the relationship between vase and user. Judging by the quantities of deposed vessels, it would be unusual for a drinker to bring their own cup to the *kapeleion*, therefore there was no personal relationship and the vase remained a commodity, just like the wine it contained. However, the vase still retained some agency in this relationship. For example, the mushroom jugs excavated from deposit U 13:1 had a direct effect upon the type of drinking that took place. Furthermore, the large quantities of krater fragments suggest that even though drinking was not ritualised, as it was in the symposium and religious banquets, certain rules remained. Without more detailed archaeological and architectural evidence, our understanding on *kapeleion* is

[140] P 2285.
[141] P 2322.
[142] P 1855, for size see Schreiber (1999) 'calyx-krater'.
[143] P 2326.
[144] P 1856. For further examples of this type of animal pursuit on askoi, see Hoffman (1977) 1-17.
[145] P 2283.

forced to rely upon biased sources and de-contextualised ceramic material.

Domestic Pots

This Chapter has explored the role of the vase as a manifestation of social interactions within the domestic and commercial relational context. Focus has been placed upon the vase as an object whose function and performance results in an event exterior to itself. This causes a reaction in the person using the vase. The most obvious instance of this agency has been the impact the vase had upon the experience of the user, for example, whether the cup is too large to hold or too small to be put to use. Size as a determining factor behind the experience of the vase draws attention to the symbolic function, or functionality of the object. By altering its dimensions, the potter forced the user to engage with the physicality of the vase.

The contrast between these two relational contexts leads to a different expression of function/ality. The domestic context is private, heavily gendered and individual, whereas the *kapeleion* is commercial, private in a different sense, uncontrolled and democratic. The vase was not simply used in the *kapeleion*, its use expressed the status and *polis*-wide preoccupation with the rules of drinking. The domestic context was a far more complex situation, of personal ownership as well as ritual practices. The rituals transformed the vase into a communicative tool, with which the individual could contact the gods. The agency of the vase in domestic ritual resided in its size. The miniaturised vase forced upon the user a particular function. Essentially, the miniature casserole was good for nothing else, nor was it meant to be. In this relational context, the meaning of the vase was conveyed through it size.

The size of the vessel expressed the private ritual impulses of a family, but what happens when the archetypal domestic object – cook and tableware – is transferred and used in the public relational contexts of Athens? How would the vase express its agency in a context determined by *polis* politics and official codes of behaviour? Can the vase still convey a wider meaning into the context? Chapter Two explores these issues through the relational context of the Agora and its public buildings.

WORLD OF THE VASE: CHAPTER TWO

PUBLIC POTS:

THE VASE IN THE DINING HALLS OF ATHENS

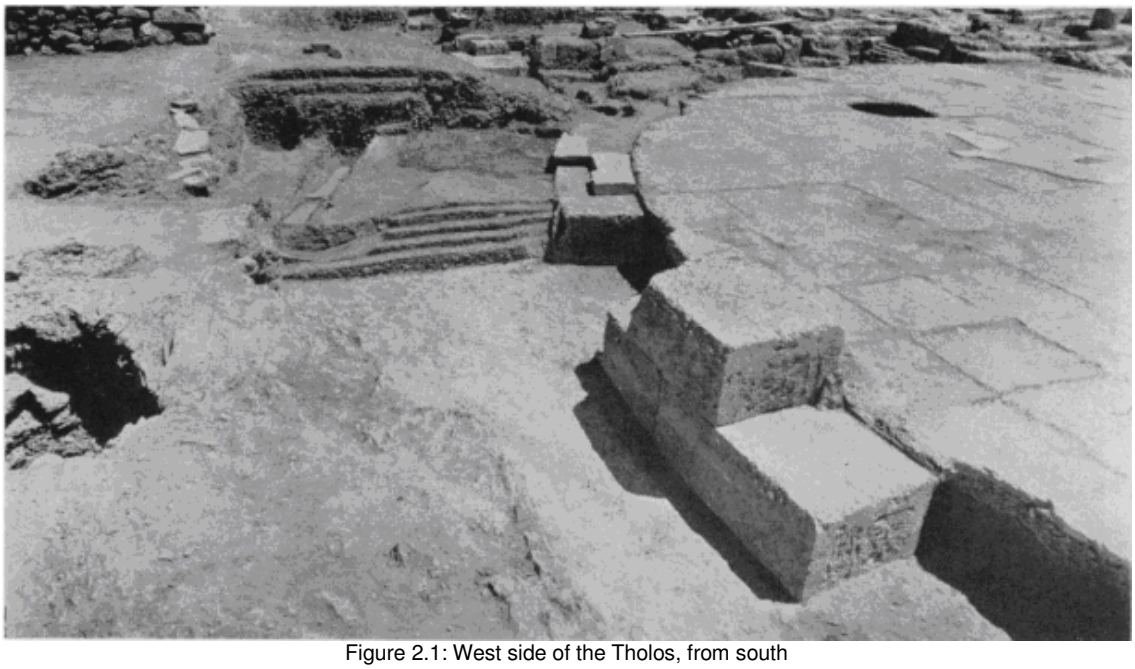

Figure 2.1: West side of the Tholos, from south

In this second chapter, the use and meaning of the vase when contextualised in Athens continues to be the focus. So far the vase has been discussed in relation to the domestic and commercial relational context, which juxtaposed ownership alongside conventional commercial use. Chapter One concluded this discussion with a challenge to re-situate the vase into a more public context, which drew specific individuals holding public office, from out of the domestic sphere and into a space directly controlled by the *polis*. Here, discussion responds to this challenge by providing a contrasting relational context to the domestic sphere, and one which embodies community living. Communal dining practices were at the epicentre of citizenship in Athens, and within this context the vase entered into a dialogue with the community.

As the tableware used to serve the diners, pottery was the essential equipment of commensality. From this position of importance, the vase influenced the experience of the user

by provoking a response. As a result, the vase became a social other. In the previous chapter the size of the vase was considered as a significant factor in provoking the user. Here, the surface and decoration of the vase is the second component of functionality. This is not the beginning of an iconographic study, which privileges the image above the entirety of the vase.[1] It is not possible to explore the public relational context through this approach as representations of context are never illustrated directly.[2] When representations of communal dining and drinking appear on painted vases, which could be depictions of commensality in the public context, they are generally catagorised as 'sympotic' scenes, implying an aristocratic and private dining experience. And yet these images are far more complex, encompassing an amalgamation of different features of such activities, leaving an interpretation far from obvious.[3] In Section Two of this study discussion returns to the complexity of the image. By focusing upon both decorative and plain surfaces as components of the vase, surface becomes an attribute of function. The actual surface of the vase is perceived of as having a function, a conveyer of meaning beyond figurative representation. As a component of functionality or symbolic meaning, the surface of the vase carries an accumulated meaning which activates an experience for the viewer. Resulting from this emphasis upon what the surface means and what it does, this component is as much an archaeological phenomenon as the vase itself is an artefact.

This chapter continues to be determined by archaeological evidence from Athens. This material is divided over two distinct areas – the Agora and the Kerameikos. Within these locations, buildings which provided public dining facilities are discussed as a type of relational context for the vase, and as uniquely varying in themselves. The individual dining experiences are reconstructed through ceramic material when available, as well as the impact of architectural features on defining the context. Attention is drawn to the distinction between self-consciously democratic dining and traditional dining practice within this category. This chapter begins with the Tholos in the Agora, which demonstrates this distinction. Before this first site, discussion begins with a detailed overview of communal dining and membership to dining clubs, with a particular emphasis upon the Prytaneion; the epicentre of Athenian commensality. The intention of this chapter is to consider how the vase, particularly its surface and decoration,

[1] For examples of this type of iconographic study, see Lissarrague (1990) on the symposium, Lewis (2002) on women, and Oakley and Sinos (1993) on the Athenian wedding.
[2] Whitley (2004) 360, see also Spivey (1994).
[3] See discussion on domestic symposia in Chapter One, and Schmitt-Pantel (1994) 15ff.

made manifest community living.

Syssitia and Dining Clubs

Syssitia in dining groups or eating together was the focal point of community living.[4] In Schmitt-Pantel's study of sharing at the common table, she states; "to have a share in citizenship is to share in a banquet."[5] Citizenship status and communal dining were irretrievably linked. To take part in one was to be the other. This practice was arranged into particular groups and clubs in Classical Athens, which came together to dine for different reasons. Citizens holding public office would dine in the Tholos as part of their service, but citizens involved in a religious cult would dine as an act of worship. However, the boundaries between these two motivations are not nearly as clear cut as they sound.

Turning away from Athens for a moment for the purpose of defining the importance of *syssition* – the act of eating together – attention fails upon Sparta and Crete for radical expressions of commensality. The form of *syssition* in these parts of Greece was determined by a collective identity. In both regions, *syssitia* were compulsory public associations in which each member had to contribute food to the communal table of mixed-age companions. In Plato's *Laws*, the Spartan Megillus tells an Athenian of the controlled world of *syssitia*; "Neither in the country nor in the cities controlled by Spartiates is a drinking-club to be seen nor any of the practices which belong to such and foster to the utmost all kinds of pleasure. Indeed there is not a man who would not punish at once and most severly any drunken reveller".[6] Access to food and drink were strictly controlled to enforce moderation. A typical Spartan *syssition* is described by Dicaearchus; "The dinner is initially served to each man separately, and nothing is shared with anyone else. Then there is a barley-cake as large as each of them wants; and, moreover, a cup is set beside each man to drink from whenever he wishes... Beyond that there is nothing else except the broth made from the meat, which is enough to supply them all during the whole dinner, and perhaps an olive, some cheese, or a fig".[7] Dicaearchus then emphasises the speed at which the food was eaten, and how diners were discouraged from sharing. Encouraging a hasty consumption illustrates the overriding practical concern of Spartan *syssitia,* which ensured

[4] Wilkins (2000) 66.
[5] Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 201, see also Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 46.
[6] Plato *Laws* 1.637a, translation Bury (1926).
[7] Athen.4.141b, translation Olson (2006).

equality in distribution whilst limiting the cohesion of sharing.

This practicality is demonstrated by the iconic 'Spartan mug', the *kothon.* The *kothon* had one handle, one less than the conventional Athens cup, with a glazed but ribbed surface. The use of this vessel became synonymous with deep drinking for the individual, as this anecdote suggests; “Someone who drinks until he is drunk is a *kothonistes*”.[8] Archilochus refers to this vessel as preventing the drinker remaining sober.[9] In much that same way as the consumption of food, drinking in Sparta was done to satisfy a thirst, not for enjoyment’s sake. In a procession described by Callixeinus in Alexandria, the list of vessels is extensive, and he refers to two *kothones* with the capacity of two amphoras.[10] This is reminiscent of the dysfunctional size of large cups, discussed in Chapter One, which make the action of drinking difficult or impossible. In the case of these two *kothones* the capacity of these vessels would intentionally elaborate an association with deep drinking.

By keeping to his own vessel, the drinker controlled his consumption (or not). This type of limited sharing is in marked contrast to the practice of the symposium, in which drinking was regulated and cups could be passed around between guests. The result of the circular motion of the cups and its shape was hallucinatory.[11] For the Spartans, eating the same meal at the same table was a significant collective experience, as well as a practical solution to feeding the population on mass. For the small group of symposiasts, sharing continued onto the same plate.

The Cretan *syssition* was similar to the Spartan system. Each diner received equal portions, although youths received half the amount served to adults. The food was served in the *andreion*, a mess-house where diners received a moderate meal. In significant contrast to how things were done in Sparta, cups were shared in Crete. Dosiades states; “Then a cup of heavily diluted wine is set on each table, and everyone who shares a table drinks from this in common; after they eat, another cup (ποτήριον) is served.”[12] The term ποτήριον is used to mean cup without offering a further definition of the form of the cup itself.[13] Drinking from a single cup, containing weak wine, placed at the centre of table determines the experience of drinking together. Table fellows cannot drink at the same time, but have to wait their turn. The wine

[8] Athen. 10.433b, translation Olson (2006), see also Davidson (1997) 66ff, 224ff.
[9] Archilochus, the Elegies, West fr. 4.6-9.
[10] Callixeinus a.p a.Athen. 11.483f.
[11] For example, see Athen. 10.428.b.
[12] Dosiades, ap. Ath. 4.143a-d, Loeb translation Olson (2006).
[13] See Athen. 11. 459b-c, who offers a very brief discussion of its origins and derivatives.

provided is for thirst, not for its alcoholic effects. The Cretan *syssition* was a manifestation of the community and its values. With these radical systems in mind, attention returns to Athens, which offered a version of syssition reminiscent of Sparta and Crete, whilst at the same time, provided instances of variety.

As a space which embodied civic values dining groups of administrative and political divisions, cult associations, age-classes and groups of friends created the social framework of collective experience. Athenaeus, writing in c. 200 A.D, lists very briefly the types of *syssitia* which illustrates the variety that coexisted in the community, he refers to several such groups, as well as philosophy dining groups; "The lawgivers were anticipating today's dinner parties when they mandated meals organized by tribes and communities, as well as cult-dinners, phratry-dinners, and also those referred to as *orgeonika*."[14] Our first example of *syssition* in Athens was for officials at the Prytaneion (town hall), which represented the *polis* to the visiting outside world.

The concept of a traditional Prytaneion, a building specifically put aside for a variety of uses, acted as the "symbol of the city".[15] It functioned as a venue for entertaining honoured citizens and strangers, a law court for cases of murder and as a social welfare institution, paying dowries for the underprivileged and supporting poor children. The religious quality of a Prytaneia focused on the eternal flame which burned in the hearth as an act of worship to Hestia and as a signifier of the "life of the polis".[16] Many references are made to this building and its functions in the literature of antiquity, but archaeology has failed to provide further support. Although evidently central to the functioning of the *polis*, only three Prytaneia have been identified, at Delos, Lato and Olympia. A recent article by Schmalz puts forward a convincing case for the location of the Athenian Prytaneion, but this is still inconclusive.[17] The *syssitia* provided for officials and guests at the Prytaneion in Athens was highly significant, as it was in other Greek cities, and was named by Hesychios as one of the three dining halls in Classical Athens.[18] In order to situate the Athenian Prytaneion amongst the other public relational contexts for the vase, an outline of its significance is provided below, largely drawn from textual evidence not exclusively referring to Athens. The Prytaneion is not discussed directly as an interactive space

[14] Athen.5.185c-186b, translation Olson (2006).
[15] For a discussion of these functions, and reference to texts, see Miller (1978) 18-24.
[16] Miller (1987) 13-16.
[17] Schmalz (2006) 33-81.
[18] Hesychios, s.v. Prytaneion, see Miller (1978) 181 for reference and translation.

for the vase, as it remains something of a mystery, but it was the nucleus of communal dining in Athens.

The *syssition* at the Prytaneion was bestowed upon particular citizens and strangers visiting the city. This was an honour and a place used to serve privilege and acknowledge achievement, rather than welcome the community as a whole. In this sense, this type of *syssition* was at the same time private and exclusive, whilst symbolising the *polis* as a whole.[19] Incidents of visiting strangers being awarded the privilege of *syssition* are recorded in inscriptions, which refer to representatives from various regions. In 403/2 B.C the Athenians honoured the loyal Samians for their support during the Peloponnesian War and one of their rewards is *syssition* at the Prytaneion; "And invite the Samians who have come to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow... Invite also to hospitality in the *prytaneion* Poses [of Samos] and his sons and those of the Samians who are present."[20] The award of *syssitia* for honoured Athenian citizens is a far more complex issue and has caused much scholarly debate.[21] However, it was essential to the prosperity of the institution that, in the words of Wilkins, "the right people must eat in the prytaneion in the right way".[22] Olympic victors, orators, those in major public office and descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton participated *syssition*.[23] 'The Prytaneion Decree', dated to the Periclean period, suggests the possibility of new grants of maintenance of the Prytaneion, this decree refers to the inclusion of religious officials.[24]

Although the honour of dining at the Prytaneion was deeply symbolic, the food served was simple but aristocratic. Athenaeus records an outline of the menu; "The author of The Beggars, which is attributed to Chionides, says that when the Athenians serve lunch to the Dioscuri in the Prytaneion, they place cheese, a barley-cake, tree-ripened olives, and leeks on the tables, as a reminder of their ancient ways of life."[25] Wine was also provided, for example, inscriptions on grave stones in Sigeion, suggest that diners were encouraged to donate tableware for the use of the prytaneis.[26] Theophrastos goes as far as to praise the wine

[19] Cole (2004) 80.
[20] Athens honours loyal Samians, see Rhodes and Osborne (2007)12-17 for translation and discussion. For other examples of honors extended to strangers see, Rhodes and Osborne (2007) 82, 192,321, 351, 357.
[21] Osborne (1981), Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 147-168, Rhodes (1981) 24,3, Wilkins (2000) 178.
[22] Wilkins (2000) 179.
[23] See Miller (1978) 7ff for evalution and references to texts, see also Hansen and Hansen (1994) 31, Rhodes (1981) 24.3.
[24] I.G.1², 77, for discussion see Thompson (1971).
[25] Athen.4.137e-f.
[26] See Miller (1978) 210.

provided; “And that (wine) given in the prytaneion in Thasos, apparently something wonderfully pleasureful, is so prepared (by storing it with honeyed dough)”.[27] Generally speaking, the sources refer to the simplicity of the food. The food served is not a reward in itself, it is food consumed within the Prytaneion and the method employed that counts. Schmitt-Pantel draws attention to this significant distinction between meals eaten at the Prytaneion and meals provided at the Tholos.[28] Although the food itself maybe similar, it is the character and meaning of the relational context which carries significance.

The honour and simplicity of the food at the Prytaneion is parodied in the comedies of Aristophanes, particularly in *Knights*, where it is visualised as a house exposed to corruption. In a reference to the simple meals provided at the Prytaneion, the Sausage-Seller, our anti-hero, accuses Paphlagon of satisfying his hunger on such notoriously simple fare; “I denounce this man, by Zeus, for running into the prytaneion with an empty gut and running out again with a full one!”[29] At a later point in the play Paphlagon admits he does not deserve this privilege, but that he intends to continue accepting it; “I pray that, just as I now do nothing (to deserve it), I may eat in the prytaneion.”[30] At the end of the play, the Sausage-Seller is invited to dine at the Prytaneion, instead of Paphlagon.[31] Aristophanes uses this play to raise his concerns regarding who participated in *syssitia*.

Returning to archaeological evidence, the Prytaneion in Athens cannot be examined with any certainty.[32] The identification of Prytaneia in Delos, Lato and Olympia were made as a result of the remains of a hearth and dining rooms to a scale suggesting public rather than private use.[33] The main obstacle in identifying Prytaneia is the simple architectural form of buildings, and this generic appearance makes them almost invisible. Hansen and Hansen state that the building had no architectural embellishments and had no fixed form. Essentially, the building is indistinguishable from other types of public buildings and monuments.[34] During Pausanias' trip around Greece and his visit to Athens, he places the Prytaneion near the sacred enclosure of Aglaurus, beneath Agia Aikaterini square, near the ancient Street of Tripods and

[27] Theophrastos, *De odoribus* 51, translation Miller (1978) 213.
[28] Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 146.
[29] Aristophanes, *Knights*, 278-9, translation Miller (1972) 142.
[30] Aristophanes, *Knights*, 766, translation Miller (1972) 142.
[31] Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1404.
[32] Travlos (1980) 24, Wycherley (1966) 291.
[33] See Miller (1978) 67-92, Hansen and Hansen (1994) 74.
[34] Hansen and Hansen (1994) 36-37.

the Monument of Lysikrates.[35] This is most likely the area of the Old Agora, which continued to be used after the second Agora was built. This space also supported early public offices in the archaic period, such as the *Boukoleion*, the *Basileion* and the sanctuary and theatre of Dionysus.[36] An excavation of this area conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service revealed a late archaic or early classical building by the northern peribolos suggested to be the most likely location of the Prytaneion.[37] The structure has a substantial complex of rooms, each of which could have functioned as a dining room.[38] A deposit of mainly excellent quality black-figured pottery further supports this theory, as described by Schmalz in his persuasive article; "This deposit is likely to represent the debris of repeated, large-scale dining activity dating to the Peisistratid era".[39] The majority of the material is composed of drinking cups and skyphoi, with equestrian and Dionysian scenes. One particular cup has a diameter of 40cm, placing it alongside the large cups discussed in Chapter One.[40] Although the material is not yet available for detailed study, from what is available it is clear that dining occurred here on a large scale for a sustained period.

The *syssition* at the Prytaneion served status and individual achievement in the form of traditional aristocratic practices. The probable location of the Prytaneion in the Old Agora was a significant statement regarding its position outside the public space of the Agora. Although of limited direct use to the approach of this study, the Prytaneion does draw out essential underlying issues; first, the form of dining taking place in public buildings, and second, the murky distinction between public and private in community life. To demonstrate this last issue further we briefly consider other types of dining groups listed by Athenaeus which also had an ambiguous relationship with the community at large, and the ideals of communal dining.

Within the group of cult-diners there was a mixture of public, as well as private religious associations. Public cult-diners are represented by *polis*-wide festivals and sacrifices.[41] *Hestiasis* is a feast for the tribes of Athens, provided by the *estiator* as a type of liturgy. Private religious associations are far more ambiguous and provide further cultic experience for individuals. Parker draws attention to the tension between dining and drinking clubs and their

[35] Paus.1.18,1-3, 1.20.1, locations description Schmalz (2006) 34.
[36] Schmalz (2006) 76.
[37] Outlined in detail by Schmalz (2006).
[38] For more information on the features of the building, see Schmalz (2006) 51ff.
[39] Schmalz (2006) 57.
[40] See for example Getty Museum, 86.AE.285, a kylix with a diameter of 46.5cm.
[41] For a discussion of the role of sacrifice in society, see Schmit-Pantel (1994), for details on the festivals held throughout the year, see Parker (1996) and (2005) for interpretations.

religious dimension by questioning the extent to which they can be defined as religiously motivated.[42] The *orgeones* provide an interesting example of private religious associations in which members conduced ritual *thiasoi*. Organised by hereditary members, the *orgeones* probably represented a subdivision of the *phylai*. The members worshipped a local hero or heroine. A decree issued by one group, dated to the third century and discovered at the Areopagus in Athens, describes the nature of worship done by the *orgeone*s. A sacrifice should be made to the hero and heroine at a small sanctuary, followed by a sharing of meat with the worshippers for which the portions depended upon age. Interestingly, this decree refers to the daughters and wives of the *orgia* receiving a share, a marked contrast to gender segregation experienced in the private domestic context and other private associations.[43] The funding for such sacrifices seem to have been a private concern, however, Parker questions the possibility of a public role for the *orgeones*. Parker suggests that the feasting done by the *orgeones* was in fact for the wider public good, by appeasing the hero for the *polis* at large.[44]

Moving away from cult-groups into those more directly associated with pleasure, we come across the *hetaireia,* groups of young leisured upper-class men who formed a bond with both social and political implications. Such groups resemble the archetypal sympotic group in terms of their small size and the fact that they generally drank together in private domestic settings. The activities of the *hetaireia* varied depending on the outlook and interests of the group.[45] For instance, members could offer each other financial support, backing in the law courts, and provide essential support to those seeking political power.[46] However, talk of politics could also lead to extremist behaviour; “sedition, assassination, and conspiracy to overthrow the government”.[47] The combination of unrestrained drinking and bad behaviour could also result in *hybris*.[48] It seems that the minority of these groups intentionally committed sacrilege as a protest against the democracy and as an expression of power.[49] For example, Lysias accuses Kinesias of being a member of a group called *kakodaimonistai*, devotees of the 'bad demon',that

[42] Parker (1996) 335ff.
[43] For the decree see F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrés des cities grecques*, suppl. (Paris, 1962) 20.12-23, and translation, see Kearns (2010), 160, 4.1.6.
[44] Parker (1996) 111. Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 205-206, Parker (1996) 111, in reference to *orgeones.*
[45] Connor (1971) 26-29.
[46] Plu.Aris.2.
[47] Connor (1971) 27.
[48] For studies of hybris and drinking, see Fisher (1992) 99ff, especially 204ff for sympotic poetry. For an example of ideal drinking and restrained behaviour see Xenophanes fr. 1.
[49] Murray (1994a) 148, 157.

purposely dined on days of ill-omen.[50] More traditional types of drinking groups were named after appropriate days of the month for dining, such as *Noumeniastai, Tertradistai*, and *Dekadistai* and were in some sense religious associations.[51] Other 'hell-fire' groups, in the words of Parker, were given sexually explicit names.[52] It is of little surprise therefore, that such groups attracted negative attention. Thucydides refers to these fifth-century associations as inciting revolution; “The charge they brought was of conspiring to overthrow the democracy, but some were in fact put to death merely to satisfy private enmity, and thers, because was owing to them, were slain by those who had borrowed it”.[53] He goes on to describe their violent fanaticism and raises accusations of murder and corruption, particularly associated with the support of Pisander.[54] After the Affairs of the Mysteries and the Affair of the Herms, an official commission of inquiry into the behaviour of sympotic groups was set up, known as the board of *zetetai.* The *hetaireai* were blamed for these sacrilegious acts.[55]

At this juncture between *syssition* for the public good and *syssition* for the bad, focus again returns to experience of the vase in this public relational context. With this background in mind, discussion begins with public dining facilities in the Agora and the significance of their situation in the epicentre of public free space.

The Agora and Public Space

In Cohen’s definition of the experience of Classical Athens, emphasis is placed strongly upon the division of space; “Athenians conceived of their city in terms of articulated public and private space around which the citizen’s life was organized and given meaning”.[56] The experience of community living in *syssitia* as a form of social privilege, awarded to the few, and out of reach for the majority of citizens presents something of a contradiction. This relational context is both public and private at the same time. This juxiposition between the private and the public context, defined here as an institution run by the state rather than individuals, is demonstrated by the location of public run institutions in the free and interactive space of the Agora. In an

[50] Lysias fr. 73, Thalheim.
[51] For discussion of these drinking groups, see Parker (1996) 335ff, Murray (1994a) 157-158.
[52] For example, the Ithyphalloi and Autolekythoi, for discussion, see Murray (1994a) 157 and Parker (1996) 335, and reference in Demosthenes Against Konon, 14.16-17.
[53] Thuc.3.82, translation C.F. Smith (1975).
[54] Thuc.8.54;65.
[55] See Andokides 1.14, 36, 40, for discussion see Murray (1994a) 149-161.
[56] Cohen (1992) 73.

unintentional demonstration of public, but private, in Demosthenes' speech *Against Aristogiton* he refers to a barrier used to prevent private citizens disturbing the work of the *Boulē*,or council.[57] The *Boulē*,is located in the west of the Agora, only yards away from private houses and shops. The Agora as a free and interactive space did not extent to all its buildings.

The Agora (market place) was the centre of public life in Athens. At the foot of the Acropolis, the Agora maintained a delicate balance between the sacred and civic. In fact, neither of these elements can be distinguished from the other. The important sacred stoas and temples of the Agora existed alongside the institutional buildings, as well as establishments outside the ownership of the state. The *kapeleion* discussed in Chapter One represents such establishments, which provided unofficial *syssitia* for non-councillor citizens who were not entitled to be fed at public expense. The fourth-century philosopher, Diogenes the Cynic, states that the experience of eating together in Athens was not institutionalised; "the taverns are the *syssitia* of Attica."[58] Here, Diogenes draws a direct contrast between the Spartan *syssitia* and the equivalent available in Athens. Every Spartan was compelled to participant in *syssition*. In Athens, *syssition* was far more exclusive. As another alternative for non-councillor citizens who worked in the Agora, Theophrastus, the successor of Aristotle in the Peripatetic school, refers to the barber shops in particular as "symposia without wine".[59] His implication is that the experience of being at the local barbers was equivalent to the social aspect of symposia, where friends and associates gathered together to discuss politics and other issues. In this respect the Agora was a collection of free spaces, such as the taverns and shops, in which informal discussions and gossip circulated amongst the poor and influential politicians. Vlassopoulos examines the common experience of this free and interactive space which allowed politics to extend even to those otherwise excluded from political life, such as women, foreigners, slaves and metics.[60] Although they had no direct bearing on political issues, their presence in the Agora exposed them to the issues of the day. Politicians utilised this informal place of discussion to recruit support and protest against their opponents.[61] More than anything, it was their presence in this informal space that counted. For a politician to appear connected to the people, he

[57] Demosthenes 25.23.
[58] Aristotle *Rhetoric*. 3.10.4, 1411a.24, translation Davidson (1997a) 392.
[59] Plutarch *Moralia* 679a.
[60] Vlassopoulos (2007) 45.
[61] Demosthenes *Against Dinarchus*, 32, Aeschines Embassy, 86, for discussion see Vlassopoulos (2007) 40-42.

should be seen in workshops, talking to private citizens. This is another form of unofficial sharing within the public sphere.[62]

Indeed, conducting such informal discussion in public showed that the citizen had nothing to conceal. Lysias emphasises the normality of this practice as a defence against conspiracy; “For each of you is in the habit of paying a call at either a perfumer's or a barber's or a shoemaker's shop, or wherever he may chance to go, —in most cases, it is to the tradesmen who have set up nearest the marketplace, and in fewest, to those who are farthest from it. So if any of you should brand with roguery the men who visit my shop, clearly you must do the same to those who pass their time in the shops of others; and if to them, to all the Athenians: for you are all in the habit of paying a call and passing your time at some shop or other.”[63] However, in the same way that *hetaireia* were perceived as a threat to the stability of the democracy, hatching plans in private, the gatherings in the shops in the Agora may have been held in a loosely public sphere, but this pretence of openness could successfully hide private conspiracy.[64] In Andokides' *On the Mysteries*, he refers to the words of Diocleides, who having witnessed the gathering of men preparing for the Mutilation of the Herms, saw one of these men, Euphemus, in his smithy.[65] The inference here is that the public context of the smithy was used to hide a conspiracy.

Of greater concern are those who show reluctance to appear in public, which suggests that the individual has something to hide and this then raises suspicion.[66] This accusation is directed towards Aristogeiton, a fourth-century orator who made a powerful enemy in Demosthenes. In one of his two surviving speeches *Against Aristogeiton*, Demosthenes suggests his enemy is abnormal; “he (Aristogeiton) makes his way through the Agora like a snake or a scorpion with sting erect... He never calls at the barber's or the perfumer's or any other shop in the city. He is implacable, restless, unsociable (ἄμεικτος); he has no charity, no friendliness, none of the feelings of a decent human being.”[67] Resulting from his avoidance of the shops in the Agora – the centre of gossip and visibility – Aristogeition is accused of indecent behaviour, being unsociable and misanthropic. The word translated here as unsociable,

[62] Lewis (1995) 435.
[63] Lysias 24.20, translation Lamb (1930).
[64] See Aeschines 1.90 for hidden conspiracy in the home.
[65] Andocides, 1.40.
[66] Lewis (1995) 433.
[67] Demosthenes, 25.52, translation A.T. Murray (1939).

ἄμεικτος, is unique to Demosthenes, used to give the sense of someone not mixing, lacking integration. This is a strong term with an even stronger significance in this type of society.

In between bursts of gossip and the loitering groups, traders would fight for business in the commercial heart of the city. The Agora integrated the civic, commercial and religious aspects of life. The boundaries of the Agora were marked off by *horoi,* blocks of stone with an inscription that announced the communal space, which kept out those dishonoured and disenfranchised.[68] This balance between the commercial and sacred is illustrated in the order and organisation of the Agora. Eubulus in *The Happy Woman* refers to stability of the Agora, where goods could be found in the same place everyday, sold alongside other more civic commodities; “In one and the same place you will find all kinds of things for sale together at Athens; figs – policemen! Grapes, turnips, pears, apples – witnesses! Roses, medlars, haggis, honeycomb, chickpeas – lawsuits...”.[69] In a similar way, Xenophon states that like the Agora, everything in the home should have its proper place.[70]

Defining the boundaries of the Agora from the archaeological record has proved an impossible task due to the relatively few *horoi* so far discovered.[71] Textual references do not offer much in the way of physical geography. Much of the commercial activity is archaeologically invisible and it varied in its simplicity. The highest ranking of the stalls would have been stationary, perhaps permanent, but evidence for a large commercial stoa is not found until the second century B.C.[72] *Skenai* or booths, *kykloi* or rings and tables were also common. In Aristophanes' *Knights*, the Sausager-Seller arrives carrying a table on which he sells his wares at the Dipylon.[73] Throughout this play, economic exchange is viewed unfavourably.[74]

This interchange between public and private, sacred and civic, commercial and political epitomises a free space in which a variety of people, citizens and non-citizens, could interact. In Wycherley's examination of the Agora, he suggests that the space reflects the complexity of Athens; “Athenian life was a fascinating mixture, from which it is almost impossible to separate

[68] Cohen (1992) 43, see Aeschines, *Against Timarchus* 21-23 for reading out of the law referring to *atimoi.* For discovers of *horoi* in the Athenian Agora, see Wycherley (1978) 33.
[69] Eubulus, ap.Ath.14.640b-c, translation Gulick (1937).
[70] Xeno. Oeconomicus 8.19-22.
[71] Wycherley (1978) 92.
[72] Assemblywomen, 686 refers to the Stoa Alphitopolis, see Wycherley (1978) 100. See also Shear (1973) for excavation of Classical shops.
[73] Aristophanes, *Knights* 152, 169.
[74] Wilkins (2000) 171, 181.

the elements, and the intricate nature of this mixture was particularly striking in the agora".[75] At this point, discussion turns to the first instance of *syssitia* verified by the archaeological records. Beginning with the Tholos, a building that provided *syssitia* for councillors, the possibility is considered for relatively private experience in the Agora. In each case study that follows, the architectural form of the dining space, as well as the ceramic material is considered for the impact these features had upon the dining practices. Particular interest is taken in vessels which provide instances of the significance of surface to the experience of the vase.

The Tholos

In its architecture, appearance and use, the Tholos epitomised the democratic values of Athens. Completed by 460 B.C, this circular structure provided the catering facilities for the fifty prytaneis or "presidents", who were members of the *Boulē* selected as prytaneis to represent each tribe or *phyles*. They served as *prytaneis* for one tenth of a year, called a *prytan*y. Each member was on duty everyday and was required to dine at public expense in the Tholos. For a period of twenty-four hours, one of the *prytaneis* was elected as foreman, *epistates*, and it was his job to remain on duty and to sleep in the Tholos, with a third of the *prytaneis*. When in office, the *prytaneis* were in charge of the state seal, held the keys of the treasuries and archives, and set the agenda for the meetings of the *Boulē*,and the *ekklesia* (assembly).[76] The existence of the *prytaneis* was essential to the workings of Athenian democracy, and the cohesion of the group was strengthened by dining together in the Tholos. This form of *syssitia* is one of three referred to by Hesychios, writing in the fifth century A.D.[77]

At this point, the distinction between the building known as the Prytaneion in Athens, discussed above, and the group of councillors known as the *prytaneis* must be made clear. The *prytaneis* did not dine at the Prytaneion, but at the Tholos, and the contrast between these two forms of *syssition* is significant.

The *prytaneis* were selected from the *Boulē*, the council of 500. The position of *bouletuae* within the *Boulē* was open to the first three property classes, and daily pay was introduced in the 450s, totalling five obols per member by the 320s. One drachma was paid for attendance in the assembly. On this pay, it was be impossible for those in the lower social

[75] Wycherley (1978) 91.
[76] For more information on the *prytaneis*, and the *Boulē*, see Rhodes (1972).
[77] Hesychios, 'Prytaneion', Translation Miller (1978) 181.

classes to be members of the *Boulē*. As a rule, the position of council member was held once, but there is a record of individuals holding it twice.[78] For example, Timarchus, the citizen that Aeschines accuses of many crimes against the state, held the office twice, once in 361/0 and in 347/6 B.C.[79] Evidently a position of privilege, *prytaneis* or presidents used the Tholos as headquarters. In addition to the five obols per council member, each *prytanis* collected an allowance of an obol per day to purchase modest food from the kitchen on the north side of the Tholos.[80] The provision of money to purchase food from the Tholos is in significant contrast to the privilege of dining at the Prytaneion. At the self-consciously democratic institution of the Tholos, the allowance of food is transformed into a wage, earned by the *prytaneis* in return for working for the democracy. Steiner draws an analogy between the Tholos and "staff lunch room", which was intended to bring citizens together and neutralise tensions through commensality.[81] Such experiences required a negotiation between the mass, or the relatively wealthy and elite. In Ober's influential study of inter-class interaction, this is cited as key to the continuation of elite political influence which had lost much of its power and needed the support and friendship of the mass.[82] Communal dining was therefore in the interest of both the aristocracy and the democratic state.

The Tholos is located in the Agora next to the *Bouleuterion*, which provided the council chamber for the city and the central place for the workings of the *Boulē*. Every day, those elected as *prytaneis* made their way over to the Tholos to dine at public expense. The contrast between the circular form of the Tholos and rectangular structures which surround it is obvious (fig 2.1).[83] With a diameter of 16.9ms, the circular structure discouraged any reference to hierarchy. The restriction of the shape prevented anyone being head of the table. Indeed, the building itself was simple and small inside. It is difficult to imagine how such a space could accommodate fifty-six diners at the same time; the entire *prytaneis* as well as the *aieisito*, who were political functionaries and regular diners at the Tholos.[84] This restricted space had an intentional impact upon the form of dining taking place. The excavations undertaken by the

[78] See Rhodes (1972) for detailed study of the Athenian *Boulē,* For his discussion of the *prytaneis*, see 1-20.
[79] *Against Timarchus*, 80, 109. For a commentary see Fisher (2001) who suggests that Aeschines destroyed Timarchus' political career, 21.
[80] Aristotle *Athenian Constitution* 62.2. Athen.5.185c-186b, translation Olson (2006).
[81] Steiner (2002) 350.
[82] Ober (1989) 17, 84, 288, 291.
[83] Cooper and Morris (1994) 66.
[84] Miller (1978) 9.

American School, have revealed no evidence of couches, and the space does not allow for conventional symposia.[85] In Miller's extensive study of prytaneion and the Tholos, he suggests two possibilities to overcome this space restriction; first, that dining was done in shifts, or that dining was not done on couches. For the second suggestion, Miller states its unlikelihood, given the prevalence of reclined dining as the normal Greek custom.[86] More recent studies have been more open to the idea of non-reclined dining, suggesting that the diners ate sitting up, making an intentional departure from convention.[87]

The Tholos has been described as the first politically designed building.[88] This is inherent in the circular structure, the method of dining, and the provision of money for food. However, as with all buildings which so profess their political character something gives away the hidden tensions, in this case, the poor financial provisions which excluded the poorer citizens. An architectural feature of the Tholos provides an analogy for this issue. The basic interior and exterior of the Tholos, much like the menu and the marble chipped mosaic floor was simple and frugal. However, the eave tiles and the antefix were richly decorated red-figure pieces with purple details.[89] Although the surface of the Tholos speaks of democracy and a rejection of aristocratic excess, high up the fixtures emphasise the inescapable influence of a more decorative and wealthy culture. This provides the perfect juncture to begin an analysis of the ceramic evidence excavated from the Tholos. The tableware used by the *prytaneis* brings with it an accumulated history of status and social interaction.

Ceramic Evidence

As well as referring to the Tholos as one of the key common dining rooms in Athens, Hesychios also states that the building was “the place in which the *sympotic* vessels are kept”.[90] An inscription found in the area refers to the Tholos as Skias, meaning tent and sunshade, and mentions the cups, tripods and phialai it stored.[91] These sources are not able to illuminate the distinction between archetypal symposia, discussed in Chapter One, and the *syssitia* provided

[85] The key resource for the excavations is Thompson (1940), Thompson and Wycherley (1972), and Travlos (1980) 553-554 who summaries the information. Bergquist (1990) 37-39 details the requirements of sympotic space.
[86] Miller (1978) 59.
[87] Camp (1992) 94, Steiner (2002) 350. Cooper and Morris (1994) suggest a ring of seats or benches 76.
[88] Cooper and Morris (1994) 79.
[89] A 880, 861, see Thompson and Wycherley (1972) pl. 35a, also Thompson (1940) 55ff for description of decoration.
[90] Hesychios, translation Miller (1978) 57.
[91] Agora Inv. no. I 5344.

for *prytaneis* at the Tholos. What they do suggest however, is the importance of dining to the identity of the Tholos. An examination of the excavated ceramic material from the Tholos area alongside the suggestion that diners ate seated, rather than reclined, marks a significant and intentional distance between conventional dining and *syssitia*. This examination of the ceramic material concentrates on three characteristics of the surface of the vase; first, the implications of discovering only a very few pieces of figured ware, second, the meaning of a black-glazed surface, and finally, the use of an ownership ligature.

A large quantity of pottery has been excavated from wells and pits in the area, particularly plain black-glazed, basic glazed tableware and very few figured examples. The pottery covers a wide range of tableware; lopai, hydriae, cups, jugs and small bowls. However, it is not easy to determine whether particular vessels were used during the life of the Tholos, or before it, as the building was erected upon the site of an earlier structure. This sixth-century archaic structure, apparently damaged during the Persian sack of Athens in 480-79 B.C, contained two buildings. Evidence suggests that the structure was a public building, and seems likely to have functioned in the same way as the Tholos by providing an earlier headquarters for the *prytaneis*.[92] Whether it was the *prytaneis* who dined here, or other officials, the size of the structure was far larger than any normal private dwelling, but its conventional shape suggests the possibly of more conventional dining, meaning reclined rather than seated.[93] It can be suggested with caution that the majority of figured vases excavated from the area were used during this early period. For example, a black-figure pelike depicts Dionysus holding a kantharos or drinking horn, between two dancing satyrs (fig.2.2).[94] This pelike dates between 510-500 B.C, several decades before the erection of the Tholos, suggesting that it was used by diners in the archaic structure, or it was a relatively old piece of pottery brought into the Tholos. A second example, a red-figure cup, dated between 410-400 B.C, excavated from the kitchen well (H 12:6), depicts a satyr standing alongside a maenad (fig.2.3).[95] Evidently, the dating of this cup places its use period well within the occupation of the Tholos. A final example, a fragmentary red-figure kantharos, dated to 470-60 B.C, excavated from the kitchen dump, depicts the

[92] Thompson (1940) 1-55, for arguments against this suggestion, see Miller (1978) 62-65, based upon a discrepancy in dating the structures beneath the Tholos.
[93] Find spots G11-H12:6, see Sparkes and Talcott (1970) and Moore (1997). For more information on the Archaic building it replaced see Thompson (1940) 1-55, fig 13.
[94] P 12561.
[95] P 10797.

Judgement of Paris (fig.2.4).[96] The goddesses appear before Paris, Hera first in line brandishing her staff, and Hermes discussing the young Paris' options. This kantharos, its shape and function evocative of Dionysus, and made its way into the Tholos area during the time of its construction and appears to have been dumped alongside the structure.[97] Each of these figured pieces raises important issues for interpretation. First of all, the iconographies of these pieces reflect the interest of the times in mythology, and figures which evoke thoughts of merriment and wine, most obviously in the character of the satyr. This would have been of interest to diners in both the archaic structure, and the Tholos. And secondly, these pieces are some of the very few figured wares excavated from this area, which occured from the 490s, and only then in small amounts.[98] By interpreting the proportion of glazed to figured ware in Athens, it appears to have been common in households to mix figured and black-glazed ware, however, in this case, the proportions suggests that the tableware would have been almost entirely black-glazed.[99] Epigraphical evidence does suggest that diners at other tholoi or prytaneion throughout Greece could offer elaborate vases as gifts to their fellows.[100] As regards official supply, figured ware was rejected in favour of plain glazed wares. The reasons for this choice have a significant effect upon the relation between user and vase.

In this relational context it is the glazed surface of the vase, rather than an image, which ironically reflected the identity of the Tholos and its users. There are no surviving depictions of democratic institutions.[101] Imagery was synonymous with elite practice and export. In the Tholos, it was the black-glazed surface of the vessel which communicated a meaning to the user. However, a distinction must be made between figured and decorated as several examples excavated from the area have incised decoration and contrast stripes. For example, a cup-kotyle excavated from the refuse dump in the Tholos precinct is glazed inside and out, the underside is reserved with black circles and in the centre are three free-standing stamped

[96] P 4952. For the progression and popularity of the Judgement of Paris in art and literature see Gantz (1996) volume II, 567-571.
[97] For example of red-figured vases depicting Dionysus holding a kantharos, see Harvard, Fogg Museum 1960.236, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 985, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nationale Stg. 701, Toledo, Museum of Art 82.88.
[98] Rotroff (1997) discusses this issue.
[99] Lynch (forthcoming) 15, discusses the use of plainer wares alongside figured during the Late Archaic period Athens.
[100] See footnote 44.
[101] Whitley (2004) 359-360. For images with possible democratic motivations, see Spivey, N. 'Psephological Heroes' in R. Osborne and S. Hornblower (eds.) *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis* (Oxford, 1994) 39-51.

palmettes.[102] This preference for decorative over figurative marks an apparent contradiction if interpretation follows a lack of decoration as a frugal choice. Recently it has been suggested that such examples imitate metal work – the tableware of the super-elite.[103] In the fourth century, ribbing, raised and gilded terracotta ornaments became popular on such glazed ware. The particularities of this process meant that it was easier and cheaper to fire red pots, rather than high-gloss slips.[104]

The rejection of figurative imagery was evidently not based upon budgetary concerns, but rather a need to create a specific type of social-relational environment. An image makes a visual connection to the values and ideals of particular social groups. Lissarrague defines the vase as a "vehicle for images", providing elite guests at symposia with a mirror reflection of their social and aesthetic values.[105] In choosing a black-glazed surface, there is no figurative element to reflect the wider concerns of an elite group. The black-glazed vase has no figurative accumulated history, the surface changes meaning to promote social cohesion and prevent the intrusion of wider distractions.

Taking the shape of a black-glazed pot, it is possible to demonstrate how the *prytaneis* distanced themselves from elite values, whilst at the same time, made no compromise in their style of drinking. The function of a plain black-glazed psykter, excavated from a well (G 11.3) in the Tholos area, suggests that the provision of wine was not basic (fig.2.5).[106] The psykter functioned as a container for wine, as well as providing a cooling seal to be filled with fresh snow or cold water. The requirement of cold wine, perhaps throughout the year, was not a budget choice.

A final intriguing element of the black-glazed ware is the seven examples of a delta-epsilon ligature (fig.2.6). In 1936, Talcott discussed the same ligature on pots excavated from behind the Stoa of Zeus, and suggested that the use denoted public ownership – pots owned and used when dining at public expense.[107] In both of these contexts, the Tholos and the Stoa of Zeus, the cup is most commonly ligatured. This provides an insight into the possible value of these glazed pieces, which were evidently worth making, and signals the type of standard issue

[102] P 12,383.
[103] Sparkes (1996) 30, see Athen.11.465d for status of owning metal vessels.
[104] Vickers and Gill (1994) 118-128.
[105] Lissarrague (1990) 11.
[106] Thompson (1940) item 38.
[107] Talcott (1936) 354.

used during public dining. The ligature marked state ownership, as well as highlighting a lack of individual ownership and therefore, a lack of varying social status amongst the *prytaneis*. Alongside the incision and stripping, the mark was the only decorative component of the vases, and this was used to characterise the relational context. Dining in the Tholos involved an intentional rejection of the aristocracy, its iconography and adaptation of dining traditions to serve the needs of the democracy.[108]

By returning to the analogy provided by the elaborate eaves tiles and antiefix, it is possible to illustrate the *syssition* of the Tholos, as well as the vase as an object which accumulated meaning. Placed above the immediate sight of the *prytaneis* and passers-by, the tiles were the only visual indication of something more elaborate. In the same way, the seated diners, eating their frugal meal bought with a small allowance would appear basic and functional. However, the vessels they used for drinking wine were subtly evocative of style and status. The democratic character of the Tholos required the rejection of figurative meaning and visual distractions. To an extent, the visual was dangerous, even images that reflected Athens as a state, because each image made a connection to elite practices. And finally, as a symbol of democracy in Athens, the Tholos in the fourth century would still have been populated by the relatively wealthy, as the allowance was so small. Out of sight, the *prytaneis* enjoyed an adaptation of drinking practices with some compromise. The relationship between the vase and the user was maintained through this social action. The function/ality of the surface of the vase in the Tholos expressed political ideology and status. In this case, the surface of the vase became an attribute of its function, meaning that the surface remained plain with the intention of emphasising the use of the vase.

South Stoa I

Situated on the south side of the Agora, only a relatively short distance from the Tholos, South Stoa I, as it is known to excavators, offers nothing short of a direct contradiction to the democratic institution of the Tholos. Unfortunately, discussion is forced to rely upon the architectural features of South Stoa I alone, as the excavated ceramic material and details of the interior are currently not available for study. A fragment of a small shallow saucer inscribed with what would appear to be a shopping list has been excavated from the area, detailing the official

[108] Ober (1989) 291.

purchase of vases, in this case half-choes, for uses in South Stoa I.[109] Other such lists have been discovered in the Tholos area and act as an indication of dining requirements on a large scale.[110] From what can be determined, South Stoa I catered for more traditional elite tastes.

South Stoa I was erected between 430-420 B.C alongside the south east fountain house and what is now referred to as the Aiskeion, a sanctuary of an Aeginetan hero, and then backed by busy domestic quarters (fig.2.7).[111] The structure included a double Doric order colonnade and sixteen separate rooms with off-centre doorways. Thompson and Wycherley suggest that the Stoa had a second storey, providing space for over one-hundred dining couches.[112] However, they also describe the construction of the building as having "a certain shoddy and makeshift character … it was a utilitarian building, erected perhaps when funds were running low".[113] This architecture utilitarianism did permit some decorative features. Fragments from a sculpture which functioned as an akroterion or cornice, has been examined, and suggests possible identification of a youthful Dionysus, well matched to the catering facilitates of South Stoa I. Nicholls states that much like the construction of the Stoa, the terracotta sculptures are of a hasty and careless execution, making identification of the figure uncertain. However, Nicholls does describe the small lion's head water spouts used to decorate the roof as splendid, and the only aspect of the building with some quality of production.[114]

The identification of South Stoa I as a dining facility results from the square rooms and the off-centre entrances as well as evidence of couch supports which suggests dining was done in a reclining position, both characteristic of symposia and *androns* discussed in Chapter One.[115] The rooms have raised borders, used to support couches, and a basic pebble cement mosaic, again reminiscent of *androns.* Special features include room V and room VIII, which could be entered through a separate anteroom.[116] Each room accommodated seven couches, arranged along the walls in a style popular from the Archaic and into the Classic period.[117] These features have led archaeologists to discuss the domestic and elite character of South

[109] Lang (1976) B15, P 23309.
[110] For references to fragments near the Tholos, see Lang (1976) B12-14.
[111] For a summary of South Stoa I, see Thompson (1953), Thompson and Wycherley (1972), Travlos (1980) 534-6, Camp (1992). For identification of Aiakeion, see Camp (2010) 170-171.
[112] Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 74ff.
[113] Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 74.
[114] See Nicholls (1970) 123-28 for discussion of South Stoa I.
[115] Bergquist (1994) 37, evidence of couch supports, see Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 76-77.
[116] Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 77.
[117] Bergquist (1994) 39.

Stoa I.[118] This point is significant, as diners were not only in a reclined position, they also enjoyed relative privacy and seclusion in small groups, much like the archetypal symposia held in private dwellings. However, regardless of these similarities and the domestic character of the space, the Stoa was still located in the public space of the Agora. Is it possible to describe a relatively public room for symposia as an *andron* when it occurs outside a private dwelling? This leads to a consideration of who actually dined in this make-shift Stoa.

At least thirty years after the erection of the Tholos and the democratisation of communal dining, South Stoa I offered an elite-style experience for diners. Although absent from the historical record, its location suggests use by Athenian officials. Thompson and Wycherley suggest it may have been the Thesmotheteion; one of the public dining halls referred to by Hesychios as used by the Archons.[119] Aristotle states that the Archons received four obols for food, three obols more than the *prytaneis*, with the addition of a herald and flute-player.[120] With a better allowance and better quality of food, the Archons enjoyed dining off the state in a way which more closely resembled a privilege. Traditionally speaking, the Archons were elected from the highest social and economic groups, by 457 B.C the group expanded to include un-leisured hoplite class. Nevertheless, this could hardly be described as a socially diverse group representative of the mass.[121]

Without ceramic evidence, it is not possible to discuss the relationship between user and vase with reference to any examples. However, it is safe to assume that the Archons or officials that dined in the small square rooms in South Stoa I would have expected tableware befitting their elite dining habits. It cannot help but appear strange that privilege was still available to those in particular offices, whilst the *prytaneis*, dining meters away, consciously rejected each element of Stoa South I which is reminiscent of symposia held in a private dwelling.

Dining Room Alongside Stoa Basileios

The final example in this Section is the collection of structures providing dining facilities behind the Stoa Basileios (fig.2.8). Attention was drawn to this area when a large deposit of pottery was

[118] Thomspon and Wycherley (1972) 77, Travlos (1980) 534-536, Steiner (2002) 351ff.
[119] Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 77.
[120] Aristotle *The Athenian Constitution* 62.2.
[121] For the opposite argument see Ober (1989), and Steiner (2002) 351ff .

excavated, suggesting intensive dining activity nearby. The traces of structures in the area behind the Stoa Basileios are poorly preserved, providing little in the way of secure interpretations. It seems certain that in the Archaic period the area was occupied by a potter's establishment, to be later surrounded by a small two-room building, dated to around 475-325 B.C. Functioning alongside this small building, and during the same period, a fifth- century structure with three rooms and a possible courtyard suggests further occupation of the area. The date of this building is uncertain, but both buildings were destroyed or in ruins by the end of the fifth century. Although much of the material suggests industrial activity, Rotroff and Oakley argue for a connection between the buildings and the quantity of ceramic material, some of which is high quality red-figured ware.[122] The structures provide little interpretative support for the dining activities held in the area, as for example, none of the rooms in the three-room building have a positivity identified function. However, it has been described as “house-like” in terms of its size.[123] Regardless of the short-comings in the architecture evidence, the quantity and quality of the excavated pottery suggests dining on a large scale. This leads us to consider who dined within these buildings. Thompson and Wycherley use the characteristics of the ceramic material to argue for its use as a *syssition*.[124] Rotroff and Oakley develop this argument and suggest that the cavalry officers and Archons used these structure as the Thesmotheteion, meaning an official dining facility for those in office, much like South Stoa I.[125] Although these buildings were erected and destroyed before the existence of South Stoa I, a significant comparison can be drawn between the two facilities which provided for the same level of office. Rather than dining in friendship groups at each others houses, the Archons were brought into the public to eat together, but judging by the tableware used, it would be more accurate to describe this type of dining as symposia, rather than our working definition of *syssition.*[126]

Ceramic Evidence

From a pit (H 4:5) and a well (H 6:5) excavators discovered six hundred cups, sixty eight mixing bowls and amphorae with high quality figured decoration, dating between 465-425

[122] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 35-36.
[123] Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 89.
[124] Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 89ff.
[125] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 'Social context'.
[126] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 47, 53, following this argument, see Steiner (2002) 368, 373.

B.C.[127] The well (H6:5), first examined by Talcott in 1936, filled in 460 B.C, which lies beneath the Stoa of Zeus, contained mostly household ware and black-glazed tableware of a substantial quantity.[128] Interestingly, forty-two examples of graffiti were discovered on this black-glazed ware, namely kalos-inscriptions and several uncertain words.[129] The most significant find was the sixteen examples of a delta-epsilon ligature of the type excavated from the Tholos denoting public ownership. The combination of the well and the pit, excavated decades later just outside the mysterious buildings, confirm that dining occurred here on a large scale and on a regular basis.[130] There is also evidence to suggest that meat was eaten on a fairly regular basis, in contrast to the frugal dining in the Tholos.[131] Due to the volume of pottery excavated from these two deposits, the remaining discussion will focus upon four surface characteristics of the material; the shape as indication of drinking style, kalos-inscriptions, and delta-epsilon ligature and finally, the figured ware.[132]

The kothon, a one-handled mug associated with deep, solitary drinking and the characteristic vessel of Sparta, was discussed earlier in this chapter.[133] Several fragments of a Corinthian kothon were excavated in this context.[134] The vessel had touches of black-glaze, as well as decorative bands and dots. Additional to this deep-drinking habit, three figured mugs were also discovered, one depicting a satyr, and two more with human figures, all dated to 450 B.C.[135] Representing the most sophisticated vessel here, a Pheidias shaped mug with stamped decoration adds to this collection of deep drinking vessels. A further illustration of the unique character of these deposits is the few examples of oinochoai excavated, a single-handled vessel used for pouring which was popular during this period.[136] The deep bowled skyphos is the most numerous drinking cup in the deposits. The shape and accumulated meaning of these vases suggest that drinking was not always done with moderation. In fact, the relative absence of oinochoai suggests that wine might have been served straight from the krater and in generous quantities.

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[127] Camp (1992) 105.
[128] Referred to earlier in relation to interpretation of delta-epsilon ligature.
[129] Talcott (1936), Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 89ff.
[130] Kelly-Blazeby (2008) suggests that possibility that these deposits are comprised of other dining contexts, not necessary public, in the region, 176.
[131] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 48-50.
[132] For a detailed examination of the material, see Talcott (1936) and Rotroff and Oakley (2002) figured war 11-15 and non-figured 15-34.
[133] See discussion under '*Syssitia a*nd Dining Clubs'.
[134] P 31693.
[135] P 30045a,b, P 30044, P 30046.
[136] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 25.

Both deposits contain examples of kalos-inscriptions. The marks are incised on the under-surface, interior and exterior of three types of black-glazed vessels, two of which function as cups for wine.[137] Generally, kalos-inscriptions are painted and applied in the potter's shop. The examples here reflect spontaneity. Additionally, these appear nearly twenty years after the practice of inscribing vases had begun to die out.[138] One reads on a black-glazed Corinthian skyphos; “Sicilian girl seems beautiful to the adulterer”.[139] Such a practice is deeply ingrained in elite symposia. Therefore, the occurrence of these inscriptions highlights a contradiction. How can an institution designed to cater for democratically elected officials condone what Steiner sees as a “light-hearted mockery of civic discourse”?[140] As a one-off perhaps? Other types of graffiti invade the surface of the black-glazed vessels, such as single letters, perhaps denoting ownership, as well as whole names. Some of these names, such as Alkaios and Timoxenos are later connected with significant political activities.[141] The expression of personal ownership and allegiance is reminiscent of private dining, however, these officials are meant to be dining in public. Returning briefly to the black-glazed tableware of the Tholos, it would have been almost impossible for the diners not to have made a connection between ownership marks and elite games and the blank glazed surface – in this context however, the surface was not used for this purpose.

The delta-epsilon ligature makes the final mark for discussion on the glazed surface of the vase. In total from the Agora, there are fifty ligatured fragments, twenty-one of these were excavated from these two deposits.[142] An example is provided by a black-glazed Rheneia cup with the ligature incised underneath (fig.2.9).[143] In the pit alone (H 4:5) 160 fragments were discovered, suggesting that this cup was the preferred government issue. The ligature is reserved curiously for the less valuable vessels, suggesting that the state only supplied the most ordinary pottery for the table.[144] None of the cups are ligatured, nor are any of the mugs. Some of the skyphoi were ligatured as public property. As was the case with the Tholos, it seems that vessels were donated by individuals, and brought along for their own personal

[137] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 27-28.
[138] For a more detailed discussion of these points, see Steiner (2002) 356ff.
[139] P 30076, Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 98.
[140] Steiner (2002) 365.
[141] Talcott (1936) 353.
[142] Talcott (1936), Lang (1976), Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 35. None of the figured pieces have the delta-epsilon ligature, which has led Rotroff and Oakley to suggest that much of this material was gifts from some of the diners.
[143] Kalos 148, Rotroff and Oakley (1992), fig. 9, 22, pl. 43, 53.
[144] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 43.

use.[145] However, this practice does not lessen the contradiction between the basic supplies of the democratic state, and the valuable gifts of the wealthy individual.

Our final concern with the surface of the vase in this context is the quantity and quality of figured ware discovered, mostly from the pit (H 4:5). Eighty-seven figured kraters were discovered, with all main types represented, and only a few in plain black-glaze. The majority of these kraters date between 460-450, and indicate a dramatic increase in dining facilities at this time.[146] The function of the majority of the figured ware is connected to drinking, mixing and pouring. The figurative decoration is conventional, with a variety of mythological and 'daily life' scenes. The most popular image, perhaps not surprisingly, is the satyr, who appears eight times.[147] One example appears on a kantharos, dated to 450 B.C which depicts a satyr in pursuit of a maenad, his conventional target (fig.2.10, side A).[148] As an addition to the vessels discussed above, the kantharos is another deep bowled drinking vessel, and is the vessel of choice for Dionysus and Herakles, two big drinkers.[149] An example of a different type of mythological scene is provided by a red-figure column-krater, dated to 430 B.C, depicting Amazons on side A, and a pursuit scene on side B (fig.2.11, side B).[150] The pursuing figure is clearly identified as Eos, with her large wings, running towards Tithonos. The erotic and transgressive qualities of women warriors and a woman in pursuit would not be lost on the users.[151] A final example represents a type of 'daily life' scene, on a red-figure pelike, dated to 470-460 B.C. The pelike depicts a youth, draped and leaning on a stick towards a standing draped female who holds her hand up in protest (fig.2.12).[152] In the youth's hand is a pouch; perhaps this is a transaction scene as the youth offers the female money in exchange for sex, however, her reaction does not look promising. These images are used to connect with the archetypal desires of the elite, rather than reflect the complexity of everyday life.

The surface of these vessels excavated from deposits behind the Stoa Basileios offer several interesting, and sometimes contradictory messages. For example, the use of the ligature pulls the vase away from concepts of individuals, whereas the inscriptions on other

[145] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 53.
[146] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 11. For a re-examination of this conclusion, see Kelly-Blazeby (2008) 177-178.
[147] See Rotroff and Oakley (1992), P 30135, P 30079, P 30042+30141, P 30045 for examples.
[148] P 30042 and P 30141.
[149] For examples see, Basel, Market, Munzen und Medaillen A.G.0352; New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: L1971.61; Wurzburg, Universitat, Martin von Wagner Mus: H4906.
[150] P 30197.
[151] For an examination of Eos in pursuit, see Osborne (1996) 65-80.
[152] P 30056.

examples, and never the same pieces, pull the relationship between the vase and the user back to the individual. The plain and glazed surface of the majority of the vessels ligatured distances the users from representational practices of the period. And yet, the examples of figured ware connect very much with this iconographic dialogue. Although little is known regarding the relational context of these vessels, it is apparent that the interaction between user and vessel expressed a complex message. The surface became part of the overall function of the vase, and choices made by those using the context relate back to the type of dining experience it provided.

Dining in the Kerameikos

For the remainder of this chapter focus moves away from the free public space of the Agora at the heart of the city, to the environs of the Kerameikos at the boundary of the city walls and alongside the Eridanos River. In this vicinity were the city's two gates, the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate which led the way to Eleusis. The Kerameikos is particularly known as the location for important cemeteries of Classical Athens, as well as providing ceramic material from much earlier periods in Athenian history. This area has been extensively excavated by the German Archaeological Institute, and their reports are used during the following discussion. Attention is fixed upon public buildings in this area, using the Pompeion and Building Z as detailed case studies, offering a contrasting depiction of public *syssitia*.

The Pompeion

Built during the period of 405-395 B.C, the Pompeion is situated between the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon, just inside the city walls (fig.2.13).[153] This structure was built on an area previously used for tents during festivals. The location was highly significant to the practice of ritual processions during the Panathenaic festival, a key element of the collective experience of *polis* religion, and the boundaries between internal safety and unprotected wilderness outside the city gates. The building acted as the main gathering point for the procession of Athena, as well as the storage space for the Panathenaic ship and living quarters for ephebes guarding the

[153] See Hoepfner *Das Pompeion* (1971) for detailed reports, Travlos (1980) 477-481, Knigge (1991) 79ff and Goette (2001) 65. For tents, see Knigge (1991) 79ff.

gates.[154] Additionally, its surrounding dining rooms provided space for select individuals to enjoy sacrificial meat, whereas the rest of the population ate in the Dipylon courtyard, an area littered with evidence of large scale meat eating.[155] Daily activities at the Pompeion are obscure, but generally speaking it functioned as an amenity building facilitating the traditional aspects of ritual practice, rather than having an independent sacred significance.[156]

The structure of the building was based around a large peristyle courtyard with dining rooms surrounding the north and west side (fig.2.14). The dining rooms are of different sizes, each with off-centre doorways; rooms A have space for fifteen couches, rooms B space for eleven couches, and rooms C space for seven couches, totalling sixty-six couches, certainly not enough to cater for the entire population.[157] It is generally agreed that the notables of Athens would have used these facilities, certainly during festival times and perhaps at other occasions.[158] Certain features of the dining rooms are reminiscent of *androne*s. For example, the majority of the dining rooms have familiar pebble mosaic floors, whereas room six has an elaborate mosaic depicting groups of fighting animals, lions and deer (fig.2.15). No surviving public building in Athens has such superior decoration, nor the simple majority of mosaics found in private dwellings in Athens.[159] In the large courtyard statues and paintings adorned the space, for example a portrait of Socrates by the famous sculptor Lysippos and a painting by Cratinus.[160]

In relation to the public buildings of the Agora, the Pompeion was built approximately thirty years after South Stoa I, and over seventy years after the Tholos. In terms of its architectural features, the extensive dining facilitates most closely resembled South Stoa I and suggests a renewed interest in traditional aristocratic dining practices. Much like the officials dining in South Stoa I, the nobles at the Pompeion dined in small groups, reclined on couches surrounded by art. Although they shared the meat from the common sacrifice, their status allowed them to enjoy commensality on a small scale. Having previously dined perhaps in the

[154] Travlos (1980) 477ff and Knigge (1991) 79.
[155] Goethe (2001) 63.
[156] See Tomlinson (1977) 215.
[157] These numbers are based on Travlos' (1980) calculations.
[158] See Knigge (1991) 80 and Goette (2001) 63.
[159] Houses were generally not luxious, for exception see, 'House on Menander Street'; Graham (1974), Travlos (1980) 392, fig. 512-13, 'House of the Wheel Mosaic', late fourth-century Athenian house, discussed briefly by Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 180-82, for the contrast with Olynthus, see Graham (1974) 45-54.
[160] Stewart, A. 'One Hundred Sculptors, their Careers and Extant Works', Perseus online library, part 2. 4. For Cratinus, see Plin.Nat.35.40.

tent erected on this area, the intentional creation of dining rooms which served as a form of ritual dining privilege appears to contradict the very notion of sacrificial practice.

Ceramic Evidence

The excavations conducted by the German Archaeological Institute have produced a substantial amount of ceramic material from over a long period to suggest extensive dining activities. The material illustrates the different periods and activities in the area of the Kerameikos. For example, fragments from a large Geometric krater and an amphora, depicting armed figures and dolphins, remind us that the Pompeion was erected upon ground once used for burial.[161]

Pottery from the Classical period suggests that the diners at the Pompeion used a wide range of tableware, cooking utensils and small containers, further suggesting that food was not only eaten, but also cooked elaborately on the premises. Beginning with figured ware, excavators have discovered an unusually large quantity, and a cross section of shapes, denoting a wide variety of activities. Red-figured kraters, skyphoi, choes, pyxides, hydriai, oinochoai, lekanai, lekythoi and a large quantity of askoi have been excavated. One shape in particular from this list, the pyxis, has no known connection with dining, and is predominately associated with female domesticity, or female votive offerings. However, the limitations of the archaeological record can lead to nothing other than speculation regarding the function of these vessels here, such as the possibility of their use for votive offerings or material from a nearby private dwelling.[162] From this set of red-figure fragments; two kraters, a skyphos, a chous, a small krater, and a pyxis, the conventions of the iconography can be determined (fig.2.16). Athena's owl is visible on the skyphos and an aulos player on the krater. A bottom section of the chous survives to depict the legs of a crawling child, a popular image limited to Athens. A second set of fifth-century fragments, from kraters, oinochoai and skyphoi depict mythological figures and animals (fig.2.17). A satyr, a lion attacked by arrows, gesturing female and a draped female standing alongside a seated figure in a heavily decorated trouser suit, suggestive of a Persian, perhaps Paris.[163] A larger fragment from a bell-krater depicts Herakles wearing his lion

[161] See Hoepfner (1976) Abb 209 210, K1 and Abb 211 a,b K2. Funerary monuments were also incorporated into the foundations of the city walls, see Goethe (2201) 61 for introduction to this period.
[162] Lewis (2002) 132-135, problematics of pyxis.
[163] For examples of Paris in 'oriental' costume, see Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2439, St. Petersburg,

skin, shaking hands with Athena, with an olive tree in the middle (fig.2.18). This handshake (*dexiosis*) refers to the friendship and support Athena offered to the hero, the language of this gesture is used on Late Classical stelai, as a farewell or greeting, to represent equality and harmony connecting the decreased to the living.[164]

Another interesting feature of this figured material is the quantity of askoi depicting a pursuing pair.[165] Returning briefly to the structures behind the Stoa Basileos discussed above, there were twenty four black-glazed askoi excavated from there, and roughly a third were marked with the delta-epsilon ligature, denoting public ownership.[166] Rotroff and Oakley suggest the containers were used to hold condiments, such as oil and honey and the shape was produced from 480-420 B.C.[167] Perhaps the examples from the Pompeion connect to the time before the structure itself, and the importance of lamps to ritual occasions. Generally speaking, the figured ware excavated has no particular qualities. However, the unusually large quantity suggests a significant interest and encouragement of figured decoration. So far, no examples from the Pompeion are marked with the ligature. Either the noble diners brought their own tableware, or the status of the diners was such as a mark of ownership was unnecessary. Although the Pompeion should be defined as a public dining in terms of its state sponsorship, the combination of several *andron*-like dining rooms, as well as an interest in figured ware, suggests dining had a private and aristocratic element. This is not to say that figured ware should be considered inherently more valuable than black-glazed, as discussed above. This distinction is not made on an economic basic, but from an ideological one. The images on the pottery reflect an accumulated history of aristocratic ideals, rejected by and large in the Tholos. Black-glazed ware does represent a significant proportion of the ceramic material, and shares points of similarity with ware from the Agora. Plain black-glazed skyphoi, cups, kantharoi and amphorae were found, suggesting extensive drinking activities.[168] Several examples have stamped decoration, suggesting an interest in quality (fig.2.19).[169]

One particular vessel is worth detailed reflection and leads us on to our final building.

State Hermitage Museum: KAB36A.
[164] Stears (1995) 125.
[165] For example see Hoepfner (1976) K.16, K 18, figure 215.
[166] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 24.
[167] The structuralist Hoffman suggests that such decoration relates to the function of the vessel as transportation for libation wine for the funerary context. In this way, the image represents a middle-ground between culture and nature, see Hoffman (1977) 120.
[168] Kantharos K 61-62, Amphora K 66-67, cup K 63, skyphos K 54, 56, 58.
[169] Hoepfner (1976) Abb. 218, K 32, 34, 42-46, 53.

The chytra, a cooking pot, has been discovered in numerous fragments at the Pompeion. Attention returns to the significance of the chytra in Chapter Three, for now it is enough to state that putting all the ingredients in one pot for all to share reflected the essence of ritual commensality.[170] One chytra in particular reminds us of the importance of the size of the vessel as well as surface (fig.2.20).[171] The chytra (or chytridion as it is a miniature) was excavated *in situ* from the foundations of the Classical Pompeion, evidently placed there prior to or during the erection of the building. The vessel measures only 5.5cms in height, 9.3cms in diameter and 5.3cms in width; smaller than the palm of a small hand. A chytra excavated from the structure behind the Stoa Basileios measures a diameter of 28cms from the rim, over twice the size of the Pompeion chytra.[172] This is reminiscent of the ritual pyres, discussed in detail in Chapter One. The difference here is the lack of pyre and the intentional burial of the vessel in complete form. This dramatically reduced vessel prevents it ever functioning in the way its form suggests it should. Herein lies the contradiction, and the functionality of the vase. This vessel in particular is significant here, as the building was designed to host ritual meals and honour ritual practice.

Building Z

The powerful functionality of the chytridion forms a connection between the two buildings, the Pompeion and Building Z. Although very different in function and form, the two buildings make use of the vessel's functionality to embody the structure it towers above. In fact, there could be no two buildings as different as the Pompeion and Building Z, separated only by the Eridanos Aqueduct and the City Wall. We discussed Building Z and its probable function as a tavern and brothel in Chapter One.[173] As the diners enjoyed meat during rituals, the frequenters of Building Z engaged in a different type of pleasure. But it is the function of the surface of the vase that requires brief examination here. In the foundations of the first phase of the building, erected in the last quarter of the fifth century, a large number of red-figure vases were unearthed. The majority suggest dining and drinking, but one example, a red-figure pyxis, suggests a female element to the household, drawing attention to its possible occupants.[174] The vessel depicts draped females, approaching doors and altars. In the second phase, once it and the initial

[170]Hoepfner (1976) Chytra K 84, 85, 87, see Chapter Three.
[171] Hoepfner (1976) K 87.
[172] Rotroff and Oakley (1992) P 31659.
[173] See Knigge (1988) 93, wider discussion 88ff, and Davidson (1997) 85ff.
[174] Knigge (1976) 183.

building were destroyed, several miniature vessels and figurines were buried. This has already been discussed in Chapter One. In its third phase, in the second half of the fourth century, two large cisterns were installed, a mosaic floor was laid, and excavators discovered hundreds of dining and drinking ware from this period. Several pieces of black-glazed fine ware in the shape of cups, oinochoai and pelikai, suggest the owner was catering for clients of some status. Near in space, time and ceramic material, the ideological distance between the Pompeion and Building Z cannot be over emphasised. In Building Z, the use of imagery and attractive black-glazed ware was used without concern for any negative accumulated value in the surface of the vase, unlike the Tholos. Much like the Pompeion, the surface of the vase here comes to represent individuality and status.

Public Pots

When choosing to consider several buildings in the same chapter, and under the same general heading – 'public' –parallels and strong similarities linking each context are expected. Although there have been some cross overs, the variety in the conduct of *syssitia* is notable. Public dining contexts were profound expressions of ideals and polices held in the *polis,* even though some of these ideals appear in contradiction with each other. As a vessel essential for collective dining in formal contexts, the vase also had a significant impact upon how the institution expressed its values. We have focused in particular upon the surface and decoration (or lack of) of the vase as a component of functionality, in other words, as a surface which communicated certain ideas to the users. It is evident that even a plain or glazed surface when used in a particular relational context communicated a message. The surface becomes part of the physicality of the vase, a component of its function, and therefore, part of how the vase was used. In contrast to Chapter One, this type of relational context has expressed community, rather than the individual, and yet, by occupying a polarized position between private and public, it is possible that this distinction has been over simplified.

In Chapter Three, the final chapter in Section One, we draw upon this ambiguity by focusing upon a third relational context – ritual practice. So far, we have alluded to and discussed contexts profoundly affected by religion without directly engaging with the religious experience of the vase. Was it is possible for the vase to become a religious object? Did the

meaning of the vase within this context alter the perception of the vase? Furthermore, did the vase transform as a result? We explore these concepts though a consideration of the final component of functionality – shape and function – as an expression of ritual practice.

World of the Vase: Chapter Three

Ritual Tools:

The Vase in Ritual Practice

Figure 3.1: A Mycenaean Chamber Tomb in the north Agora

In this final chapter of Section One discussion focuses on the last relational context in this study. In the two previous chapters the vase was considered as having the ability to interact with the user much like any other guest at a shared table. The vase helped to project the ideals of certain public contexts, examined in Chapter Two, and expressed individuality as well as commerce in Chapter One. Here, discussion develops upon references made to the influence of religion in both the private and public life of Athenian citizens. The pyres examined in Chapter One represent a complex example of the influence and the undercurrent of religious experience in the life of the citizen. By focusing upon this aspect of polis life, we consider the effect religion had upon the experience of the vase, the identity of the vase as a religious object, and finally, how this religiously influenced perception of the vase caused its transformation into a ritual tool.

As distinct from the previous chapters, this relational context cannot always be

concretely defined. For instance, both the public and private context, however complex, refers to a building or institution. The ritualised space of concern here is far more conceptual. The space is not always bound by architecture, but rather by an event and experience. Emphasis is placed upon the meaning and significance of the vase when in use within this more abstract relational space. In addition to this emphasis, this relational space is both climatic and meaningful in two ways; first, the performance and experience of the vase as ritualised draws upon the two components of functionality so far discussed, size and surface, with the addition of a decisive factor – the shape and function of the vase. And second, the experience of functionality is entire during ritual practice, as the vase is transformed from a commodity to a supernatural object with profound effect upon social relations. When placed within this relational space, the vase becomes increasingly removed from any connection to a practical function. Furthermore, this marks the final stage in the progression from function to functionality, which began in Chapter One. This chapter marks the coming towards the end of this methodological process, when the vase began as a commercial object but quickly, and increasingly, became an object with agency.

The end of this chapter also proclaims the end of the first aspect of our approach as Section One has depended upon archaeological evidence and an interpretation of the painted vase as an aspect of the overall function of the vase. In Section Two this concept is developed and attention is paid to aspects of iconography as attributes of function and social values. In this chapter, the vase is the interactive object as before, but from a more radical perspective. The vase becomes an object perceived as having merged with people, and having developed "physiognomies like people", by becoming partially animated.[1] Evidently, this type of animation is sociological, as Whitley emphasises; "As far as human societies are concerned, all objects are animate – either in themselves (having a kind of personality) or as extensions of human persons".[2]

Returning to the emphasis of this Chapter, the final component of functionality is the shape of the vase, which at first glance can imply an intended function. However, interpretations based upon intended functions can be misleading. Intention does not represent user appropriation. All three components of functionality – size, surface and shape – are incorporated in this chapter. This relational space is explored in three ways; first, the significance of the

[1] Gell (1998) 15.
[2] Whitley (forthcoming) 5.

chytra or cooking pot, particularly associated with ritual dining. Second, vases with particular functional and symbolic associations with both domestic and *polis*-wide festivals. And third, the transformation of the vase into a votive offering, which required the animation of the object. Each of these three examples of ritual use draws upon the shape and function of the vase, but does not necessarily require the function suggested by the shape. As discussion develops, we manoeuvre away from concepts of suggested function towards a complete functionality of the vase. In other words, the shape of the vase does not, particularly in this relational space, stipulate the way the vase was used.

The ritualised space dealt with in this chapter necessitates an engagement with the religious identity of Athens. Religion did not occupy a separate sphere. It was prevalent in all aspects of life, an experience to be shared by the community and amongst citizens who followed a public, rather than private and individual expression of religious belief.[3] Public observance was a fundamental aspect of their citizenship and community living. Accomplished through festivals, processions, sacrifice and feasts, life in the *polis* was a religious existence, the two were eternally connected.[4] The experience of religious belief was determined by integration and communication between men and men, and between men and gods. If we inverse the implications of this, religious ideology was deeply embedded into the experience of society. It is of little surprise therefore, that religion was the primary motivation behind the production of visual culture.[5] The expression 'visual culture', used here instead of art, is intended to engage with ancient Greek perceptions of what might now be categorised as art. There is no word in Ancient Greek for art, its closest counterpart, *techne*, means craft or skill.[6] This approach, influenced by Gell's anthropology of art, looks for the reaction which the object provokes, and the function the object fulfilled. Gell reminds the observer that societies which produce the objects we consider art did not engage with the object in the same way as we do.[7]

The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, the examples selected for discussion illustrate

[3] Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 200.
[4] On the connection between *polis* and religion see; most notably Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) and (2000), also Deacy (2007), Dignis (2007), Parker (2005) especially 89ff.
[5] On the relationship between religion & art, see select; most notably Carpenter (2007) 398-420, more extensively *Dionysian Imagery in 5th Century Athens* (1997), Lissarrague (2001), Robertson (1985) 155-190, Parker (2005) on the iconography of Eleusinian Festival 334ff, Whitley (forthcoming) and (2011).
[6] For a discussion of the Greek relationship to visual art, see Whitley (forthcoming) for an interpretation which has influenced the approach of this current study.
[7] See Gell (1998) 5ff, for a discussion of objects now considered art which would not have been by the society that produced them.

how the use of the vase within ritualised contexts depended upon an engagement with the transformative effects of functionality. Practical function was not valued within a space which demands a deeper, more symbolic interaction with the object. And second, this chapter does not stand alone, but builds upon the analysis of the previous chapters, and acts as a conclusion to the full transformation of the vase. Discussion begins here, with an examination of a Mycenaean chamber tomb. The tomb, of date much earlier than anything explored elsewhere in this study, raises fundamental questions regarding the experience of the vase.

Honouring the Ancient Dead

In the Northern part of the Agora, beneath the Temple of Ares excavators came across a Mycenaean chamber tomb (fig.3.1).[8] There was nothing unusual in this as the Agora was used as a Prehistoric burial ground.[9] However, this particular tomb had a longer period of use than most, from 1450 B.C to 1200 B.C, containing at least sixteen interments on two distinct levels. The skeletons were buried with grave goods of plentiful Mycenaean pottery, left by relatives to honour the dead. The practice of leaving pottery as grave goods dates back to the very earliest historic periods, and continues throughout the Archaic and Classical Period.[10] This is most noticeable in Athens from excavations of graves in the Kerameikos, where relatives left pottery in offering trenches with cremated remains.[11]

Hero-cults, tomb-cults and ancestor-cults were prevalent during the sixth century and earlier. The depositing of pottery at graves is a key indicator of this practice. Several examples of hero-cults survive in the Agora.[12] A famous example from outside the city centre is the Marathon tumulus, which contained the remains of the war dead after the battle in 490 B.C.[13] The cremated remains were surrounded by black-figure lekythoi, suggesting a cult to the heroized dead. After 550 B.C the practice of revisiting and honouring such burials goes into decline. Our Mycenaean chamber tomb exhibits an interesting anomaly. After a long period of

[8] For a detailed report of the site, see Townsend (1955), Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 119-121.
[9] For early burials in the Agora and Athens, see selected bibliography, Young (1951a), Morris (1987) and (1992) and Whitley (1991).
[10] For evidence of hero and tomb worship in the fifth century Agora, see Lalonde (1968) and (1980).
[11] For very detailed reports on excavations in the Kerameikos, see the Kerameikos series. For a very good overview, see Knigge (1991).
[12] See footnote 10. For cult of the dead indicated by a Proto-Attic deposit, see Burr (1933). For an evaluation of hero and tomb cult, see Antonaccio (1993) and Whitley (1994a).
[13] See Whitley (1994a).

neglect, the tomb was accidently rediscovered by builders in the Classical period. Rather than continuing the building work as intended, the construction site was moved, and offerings were left behind to appease the disturbed long dead.[14] Seven fifth-century lekythoi were left in a shallow pit at the knees of one of the skeletons. The offerings are a mixture of red-figure, black-bodied, and white-ground lekythoi, designed specifically for the funeral market (fig.3.2, 39-45).[15] The three white-ground lekythoi have palmette decoration, and the red-figured lekythos depicts a flying Nike. Each of the three examples measures several centimeters shorter than the average white-ground lekythos.[16] At around 430 B.C, the tomb had a second rediscovery. In the west door of the tomb two more white-ground lekythoi were left as offerings for the dead (fig.3.2, 46-47). Unfortunately, these are fragmentary, but part of the figuration survives. One depicts the steps of a stele, with hanging sashes and a basket containing offerings. Both the iconography and the white-ground surface embody contemporary Athenian responses to death and mourning, popular during the fifth and fourth centuries.[17]

It is not the phenomenon of the early tomb that is significant to this study, but the response of later generations to its rediscovery. The two interruptions arouse certain questions. First, the placement of the lekythoi within this tomb by later generations compels a confrontation with the meaning of the vase to the builders of the fourth and fifth century. Much like the pyres discussed in Chapter One, these offerings were part of a meaningful ritual practice. Both the function and iconography of the white-ground lekythoi was determined by the ritualised context of the burial. The funerary context gave meaning to the vessel, and the surface reflected the context. The surface became a component of the function of the vessel, not just the experience of it. Second, the contrast between the Mycenaean pottery, deposited at the time of the burials, and the later lekythoi highlights a reoccurring issue. The Mycenaean pottery were grave goods, left as gifts for the dead, whereas the lekythoi were offerings.[18] Offerings are not only gifts, but objects subject to votive practice. Votive practice is a characteristic act of worship, when an offering in made, a white-ground lekythos for example, in exchange for something, or to mark a vow made. The vessels were left behind as a symbol of the request made by the living and to

[14] For other revisitings, see Burr (1933) and Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 119-121.
[15] For an in depth examination of white-ground lekythoi, see Kurtz (1975).
[16] Average white-ground lekythos is 20cms high, see Schreiber (1999) 171-185
[17] For burial customs, see Kurtz and Boardman (1971) and Morris (1987) and (1992).
[18] See Whitley (1994a) 217, who highlights this contrast.

appease the dead. The issue here is whether the vessel is subject to ritual practice, or a votive offering.

This tomb has demonstrated all the components involved in the activation of ritual functionality. The meaning of the shape, function, size and surface of the vase was essential to the transformation of the vase. Discussion begins here, with these points in mind, to examine the meaning and function of the vase within small scale ritual dining contexts, at sanctuaries and temples. Although the function of the vase is informed by its shape and form, this function came to personify more than a practical process.

Dining in a Sacred Context

The religion of the Athenians structured meaning within the polis.[19] This was true of all aspects of society, both civic and political. However, a distinction can still be drawn between the religious significance of dining in a civic building, and dining within a sacred space, such as a temple or sanctuary. Feasting a short distance from the altar or cult statue of a god occurred only during festivals or worship of that deity. Consumption was predominately a communication between man and god. Dining within civic buildings such as the Tholos had a core religious dimension, but it was not instigated by religious practice alone. This distinction was made in the Chapter Two, when the dining facilities provided by the Pompeion were considered separately from the ritually defined contexts discussed here. This distinction was made on the basis that the Pompeion provided dining on a fairly large scale to select individuals, but not within a sacred space. Our intention in this section is twofold; to explore the significance of dining within a ritualised context, and second, to comprehend the ritual transformation of the vase, in particular the chytra, beyond its use as a cooking vessel. Discussion begins with a consideration for the relationship between food and ritual.

In Garnsey's assessment of food stability in the Mediterranean, he states that food shortages were frequent, and malnutrition was widespread. This resulted in anxiety and uncertainty for the society. In response to this anxiety ritual practices evolved in the hope of securing food stability; “Anxiety over food is manifested, for example, in the establishment, survival and centrality of the

[19] See footnote 4.

cycle of religious rituals and celebrations".[20] A prime example of this is the worship of Demeter, the goddess of corn and agriculture, celebrated in the ceremonies of initiation at the Mysteries, famously at Eleusis.[21] The aim of this worship was not the successful consumption of nutritiously valuable food, but the experience of that ritual.[22] The distribution of simple food took on significance beyond the reality of its raw state through expressions of commensality. The nature of the produce, its preparation, combination and eventual destination determined the transformation of grain from simple food stuff to an instrument of shared experience.[23]

In general, feasting aims to consolidate the social and spiritual. The experience of feasting together demonstrated the interdependence of the human-human and the human-divine world. The community values were expressed and the human and divine worlds interacted.[24] The use of the chytra embodied this commensality, and was expressed in different ways. When left as an offering to Hermes Chthonios, the vessel had to be suitable for cooking with, meaning that the shape of the vessel did indeed relate to its eventual use. The fabric of the vessel had to be fire-retardant. When placed inside the pyre, both the full size and miniature chytra had no need to fulfill a practical function. In fact the material of some later chytrai could not withstand the necessary heat for cooking over a fire.[25] In each scenario the completion of ritualised practice required different things from the chytra. The shape of the chytra suggested an intended function which the vessel never actually fulfilled. In other words, it is expected the chytra be used as a cooking pot, not as a votive offering. Herein lies the power of functionality – symbolic function. This functionality is expressed in both the shape and function of the chytra, as well as its place within the domestic environment. Functionality is activated once a contrast between a use suggested by shape and actual use is noticeable.

The chytra was a common type of cooking vessel, used in the kitchen on a daily basis. The most common domestic type had a low rim and one handle. Larger sizes have also been discovered. The material of the chytra was terracotta suitable for exposure to fires.[26] An example from the second half of the sixth century is of a common type, which did not vary in the

[20] Garnsey (1999) 3-5.
[21] See A.C Brumfield, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter* (1981).
[22] Parker (2005) 158.
[23] Bruit (1994) 167.
[24] Bell (2009)105-108, 120-128.
[25] For an examination of the material of chytra and chytridi*a* in pyres, see Jordan and Rotroff (1999) 149ff.
[26] For a description of the common chytra, and lidded varieties, see Sparkes and Talcott (1970a) 224-226.

coming centuries (fig. 3.3).[27] It measures 17.2cms in diameter, and 28.4cms in height. *Chytridai* are miniature versions and tend to be found in burials and ritualised contexts. For example, this chytridion was excavated from a pyre in the domestic quarter behind the Royal Stoa (fig.3.4).[28] This pot measures only 7.8cms in height, over three times smaller than the common full size cooking pot. The pyre contained several other pots, including a second chytridon, both were produced in household ware material. The chthonic characteristic of the pyre imbues the miniature with the same meaning. Chytridai are also found in late archaic graves, and Attic graves of the fourth century, as an indication of their chthonic associations.[29]

When involved with food the shape of the chytra determined the cooking method. All the ingredients were combined together. This cooking process transformed simple food into a personification of commensality. There are a number of examples. During the Pyanopsia, an Attic festival of Apollo, a simple dish of boiled beans, vegetables and cereals was prepared and consumed from a chytra. Similarly, the Thargelia, a festival of Apollo held in Athens, offered a chytra of first cereals to the god. It was the cooking technique and its distribution that transformed the simple food the chytra cooked. The ingredients were contained, infused, and kept together, allegorising the communication between humans and the divine. The meaning of food in ritual dining alongside the use of the chytra activated the functionality of the vessel. In other words, the combination of ritualised food, cooked to share and mixed in a circular vessel becomes symbolic of the practice. Bruit provides an outline of this signification; “food was still part of the sacred; the nature of what was eaten, the treatment of the food and the social and material circumstances of its consumption could be a mediation between the human and the divine”.[30]

The chytra has been discussed several times in the study already; first, as an object commonly found in the pyres of the domestic context, second, in miniature form buried in the foundations of the Pompeion, and here the third - the Chytroi, the third day of the Anthesteria on which every household made an offering to Hermes Chthonios. Each ritualised activity required different characteristics from the chytra.

The chytra provides the best example of the transformation of food into a

[27] P 18532.
[28] Deposit F 5:2, P 9728.
[29] Sparkes and Talcott (1972a) 225, footnote 8.
[30] Bruit (1995) 196, and Bruit (1994) for Spartan meals.

communication device, then offered to a god or shared amongst the community. First, the form of the chytra suggests a particular method of cooking. Second, this method which combines all the ingredients, allows the vessel to accumulate meaning in relation to commensality. And finally, the circulation and experience of the chytra when the food is served provides the vessel with meaning. This experience was determined by the shape and function of the vessel, which was encountered everyday in the ordinary household kitchen. The ritual transformation of simple food stuff did not require a sacred space or grand architecture. Essentially, the chytra connected to ritual practices characteristic of the domestic environment. At this point, discussion turns to dining within a sacred space. The same food was often consumed, and from the chytra, but the experience of the human and divine was brought out of the domestic situation.

The function of the Acropolis and its temples, shrines and sanctuaries was to offer a point of transition, between god and man, and the individual and community values.[31] The Propylaia marked the entrance into the sacred *temenos*, and once inside, the individual represented the religious values of the commensality and engaged in a variety of ritual practices.[32] This context was used by a select number of individuals during sacred dining rituals. As discussed above, the custom of dining together was deeply significant to the community. The custom of dining together in the sacred *temenos* was an experience reserved for a select few, and was an exchange between the human social and divine order.

Archaeological evidence of ritual dining on the Acropolis before 480 B.C is difficult to ascertain. Like many of the deposits excavated throughout Athens, the debris is attributed to the mass destruction of the Persian invasion in 480 B.C, which resulted in a great mixture of material from a variety of contexts.[33] For example, the excavations of the North Slope of the Acropolis revealed a number of wells, each filled in at a similar time.[34] Wells A and C, on the upper levels near the Acropolis cliff, contain a great number of vase, terracotta and lamp fragments, all disposed of at the same time. The majority is household pottery, with only a few examples of figured ware. Well B, D and E, on a shelf down the slope, are similarly filled with household pottery, and some black-figured ware. Fragments of the same vase have been found

[31] Rhodes (1995) 20.
[32] For daily life in a sanctuary, see Dignas (2007) 163-177 .
[33] For evidence of Persian destruction in deposits see, Shear (1993) for full examination.
[34] Roebuck (1940) 141-260.

in different wells. Furthermore, it appears to have been common practice to dump debris over the edge of the Acropolis, similar to the routine clear up of sanctuaries and shrines.[35]

In such circumstances, how is it possible to know whether the pottery was used during ritual dining, or as votive offerings? It is uncertain, but certain types of vessels do suggest dining nearby. For example, a substantial quantity of unglazed and black-glazed ware was found in all the wells. This material compares favourably with ware excavated from the communal dining contexts in the Agora.[36] An example of one vessel found in these wells demonstrates the interpretative problems of the Acropolis material. A plain black-glazed pelike, excavated from Well A, was a container for liquids (fig.3.5).[37] However, it might be a mistake to assume that pelikai were used to contain wine and water, as depictions of the vessels on figured pelikai suggest use by perfume merchants, rather than diners.[38] As a perfume container, the pelike would make an appropriate offering, rather than a functional vessel in ritual dining.

Unglazed and semi-glazed household wear is much more common, suggesting a level of food production. A number of fragments also bear painted inscriptions of private ownership, suggesting a practice similar to the one found in the dining halls of the Agora.[39] Several red-figure fragments from cups have been excavated, depicting a variety of scenes; archers, nude figures, and one depicting an arming scene with *kalos* painted on the shield, referring to the beauty of the arming hoplite.[40] These fragments do suggest food preparation, dining and drinking in the near vicinity, either in nearby houses or on the Acropolis. However, without clearly defined relational contexts, this material is of limited interest to this study. Larger scale community dining leaves no structural evidence. To explore small scale ritual dining we must turn to architectural evidence provided by only two examples in the Acropolis area, the Pinakotheke of the Propylaia and the Asklepieion. There is nothing in Athens that compares to the scale of dining at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, nor the Brauronia in Attica, which is discussed as a comparison.

[35] For the pottery from the Slopes, see Pease (1935) 214-302.
[36] Roebuck (1940) 249-250, for comparison see Talcott (1935) and Vanderpool (1938) *3*63-411.
[37] A-P 2213.
[38] For examples of iconographic pelikai on pelikai, see Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie: 42; Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale: 34; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 895.
[39] Roebuck (1940) 247-249.
[40] Roebuck (1940) 239, A-P 1800a/1920b, A-P 1255, A-P 1260.

The Pinakotheke

Re-erected between 437-432 B.C, the architectural features of Mnesicles Propylaia created two unsymmetrical wings on either side, boarded with Doric style porticos (fig.3.6).[41] This marked the entrance to the Acropolis. A vestibule on the north-west wing led to a small square room, entered through an off-centre doorway, a typical feature of sympotic dining space. This room is known as the Pinakotheke. Scholars speculate that this room was indeed a dining room with provisions for seventeen couches (fig.3.7). In comparison to the Tholos and other civic dining halls, the Pinakotheke was a very small scale dining space. When discussing sympotic environs, Bergquist refers to the Pinakotheke as serving prestige rather that sympotic pleasure.[42] However, when compared to more typical sympotic space, accommodating seven or eleven couches, this relational context offers significantly more space for diners. At the heart of Athenian religious monumentality, it is thought that the priests from the neighboring shrine of Athena Nike dined here. A comparison can be drawn between the provisions for officials at South Stoa I and this intimate space. South Stoa I provided dining in small groups in privacy, but still within the context of public space, funded by the state. The Pinakotheke had a similar emphasis upon intimacy, but its location on the Acropolis imbues the room with religious significance. Although not strictly speaking a shrine or sanctuary, but something in between, this room provided aristocratic dining facilities for notable figures. Here, interpretation must rely on architectural evidence alone, as currently no ceramic material from the Classical period is available for study.[43]

The Asklepieion

In 419 B.C the cult of Asklepios arrived in Athens from Epidauros, introduced by Telemachos.[44] For the first sixty years or so, the cult was a private foundation, funded independently from the state. Worship was done in a temporary wooden structure on the South Slope of the Acropolis.[45]

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[41] For details of the Propylaia, see Travlos (1980) 482-483, Goette (2001) 17-21. For description of construction see, Tomlinson (1990) 405-413.
[42] In support of dining rooms, see Hellström (1975) and (1988)107-121, Bergquist (1994) 53. Travlos (1980) 483, for counter argument see; Dinsmoor and Jr (2002) 384, footnote 35 and de Waele (1990) 37.
[43] For Early fragments from the Propylaia; see *Archaiologikon Deltion* XLIV (1989) 31.
[44] For details of site at Epidauros, see Tomlinson (1976) 96-103, couch supports have been excavated here. Tomlinson (1969), Travlos (1980), Goette (2001) 49, Bergquist (1994). For the arrival of the cult, see Inscriptiones Gracae, II², no. 4960a.
[45] See especially Aleshire (1989) Edelstein and Edelstein (1998). For summary see Travlos (1980) 127-129 and Goette (2001) 49-50.

By the fourth century as part of a renewed building program, this structure was replaced with a substantial temple consisting of an altar and two doric stoa, used for sleeping and dining. The cult became a state concern.[46]

Asklepios was the foremost healing god in ancient Greece, who cured people from their sickness when asleep in his temple. These incubations occur in a particular part of the building in which people who wished to be healed would dine and stay the night. In Athens, the doric stoa provided this space.[47] The stone structure comprised a substantial temple building, with an altar, colonnades, a spring, and an ionic stoa to the west containing four square rooms (fig. 3.8). Each of these square rooms was entered through off-centre doorways and had space for eleven couches. This created a substantial space, away from the temple *temenos*, in which worshippers could feast and gain healing sleep.

Worshippers would bring along votive offerings to honour the god, and these were displayed around the complex. Popular offerings were terracotta anatomical votives, body parts which represented the area needing curing. For instance, terracotta breasts, genitals, abdomens, legs and thighs, as well as eyes, have been excavated in Attic sacred contexts.[48] According to Pausanias, the Asklepieion was quite eye catching even without its votives; “The sanctuary of Asklepios is worth seeing both for the statues of the god and of his children and for its paintings.”[49] Writing in the second century AD, Aelian records an attempted theft which occurred at the Asklepieion in the middle of the night, when worshippers were sleeping. The thief's target was the votive offerings displayed in the temple. Fortunately, a dog disturbed his deed. Evidently, this theft was not motived by a desire to obtain the many terracotta body parts, but to steal more valuable objects dedicated by worshippers.[50] The cult was able to accumulate great wealth.

With these accounts in mind, it seems likely that the area would show evidence of regular ritual dining, as well as votive offerings. Excavations in the area have unearthed many

[46] See Parker (1996) 185 and Dignas (2007)175. For details of public worship of Asklepios in general, see Edelstein and Edelstein (1998) 553-55 and 556-575.
[47] For sources that refer to incubation, see Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, 3,3 and Aristophanes *Plutus*, 400-14, 633-744.
[48] Van Straten (1995) Attica catalogue, 105ff. Aleshire (1989) 67 suggests a large number of women dedicants were hetairai.
[49] Paus. I, 21-4-5, translation Edelstein and Edelstein (1998) 725.
[50] Aelianus, *On the Characteristics of Animals,* VII, 13.

examples of converted offerings, such as chytrai, lekythoi, pyxides and drinking cups.[51] This material is not currently available for study. The function of ritual dining at the sanctuary was part of the worship at the Asklepieion and the healing process.

The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth

So far, discussion has focused upon sacred space in Athens which provides very limited evidence of small scale and large scale ritual dining. Interpretations are dependent upon architectural features, which add little to the evocation of functionality in the vase. In part, this could be due to the use of temporary shelters and tents, set up specifically for ritual dining events, much like the space on which the Pompeion was built.[52] When compared to the scale of dining facilities at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, nothing in Athens comes close.

The sanctuary is situated on the north slope of the Acrocorinth, separated from both commercial and domestic structures. The ionic stoas on the site were in use from the late sixth century to the second century B.C, fifty-two dining complexes, or hestiatoria, sprung up in the area (fig.3.9). The excavations carried out at the sanctuary have been systematic, and the use of water sieving enabled a full and complete report regarding dining in this area.[53] Without going into too much detail, the evidence suggests that the dining rooms were far from standard. The rooms were irregular, with no fixed allocation of space for couches, and often without food preparation facilities. During the expansion of the facilities in the fifth century, areas for washing, cooking and sitting were incorporated into the space. Another interesting feature is the so-called 'half' couches, which are half the standard size.[54] This has led to speculation regarding the identity of the diners. The overwhelming majority of votive evidence suggests females were the most frequent visitors here. Bookidis suggests that dining done at the sanctuary, which was comparable to the *andrones* of private houses, was done by women, who reclined like men whilst eating and drinking.[55] Dining was generally done when reclining in this space, as evidence of couches survives, but the suggestion of female reclined diners represents a major

[51] Aleshire (1989) 52, adds no reference for further information.
[52] Knigge (1991) 79ff.
[53] For the full report on ritual dining, see Bookidis et at (1999). For the pottery excavated from the sanctuary, see Pemberton et al (1989).
[54] For a brief overview of the 'half couch', see Bookidis (1994) 88-89.
[55] For the suggestion of female reclined diners, see Bookidis (1995) 50 and (1994) 91.

detachment from conventional practice.

For the interests of this current study, the pottery excavated from the dining area illustrates the nature of the dining experience. Hardly any complete pots were excavated, and any fine ware is mainly Corinthian, with Attic imports representing only 2% of the ceramic material.[56] Discussion should be split here, into vessels intended for dining purposes, and the votive miniatures. This distinction in use has been highlighted by the Mycenaean chamber tomb, where a vessel functions practically, or symbolically, or even both.

Inferring intense dining and drinking activities in the area, cups represent the most common vessel, particularly the kotyle, discovered in 6,539 fragments. Half of these cups were marked with graffiti.[57] Spread across the area was a large variety of bowls and lekanides, the preferred food seems to have been eaten from a stew pot. It is perhaps surprising that chytrai and lopai are poorly represented. Grains were an important aspect of the meals here, with legumes, fruit, and fish also present. What the thousands of cups actually contained when used by the diners is another issue for debate. The few discoveries of kraters and amphorae, and the use of a smaller variety of *oinochoai* which provide a single portion, emphasises a difference in drinking practices. Regardless of these differences, excavators still relate the experience of dining here as being like that of a private symposium.[58]

Votive miniatures, which have exclusive Corinthian origin, have been discovered in nearly every spot in the area of the sanctuary. These take a variety of shapes, from small hydriae, krateriskoi, and kalathiskoi. Three handmade kalathiskoi have also been catalogued, and dated to the late sixth century.[59] Excavated from the southern edge of the sanctuary, these three simple offerings have each been part of a ritual practice which involved burning or fire. This is suggested by the surface of the vessels. A deposit on the southern edge of the sanctuary contained several miniatures, krateriskoi, squat and broad-bottomed oinochoai and kalathiskoi.[60] Let us examine one miniature in detail; the krateriskos (fig.3.10).[61] The miniature krater measures 2.5cms in height and 4.8cms diameter at the rim. One handle of the vessel does not survive. The surface is black-glazed. The foot resembles that of a column-krater. In

[56] Bookidis et al (1999) 14, footnote 45.
[57] For discussion of the kotyle, see Pemberton et al (1989) 25ff.
[58] Bookidis (1995) 56.
[59] Pemberton et al (1989) C-62-700, C-62-262, C-62-685, deposit R 23-24.
[60] Deposit R 23-24.
[61] C-62-788.

comparison to a full size column-krater, which varies from 35cms to 56cms in height, this miniature is extremely small, not even the size of the palm of the hand. It seems odd that krateriskoi were dedicated at the sanctuary when the krater was not widely used here. Rather than relating to their experience at this particular sanctuary, the dedicant drew upon the wider symbolism of the krater, which represented prosperity, community and well-being.[62]

Although only a very brief study of the vast material unearthed from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, it is clear that the form of the vessel had an impact upon dining practices, and the dual function of the vessel as both a practical object and a votive offering.

By way of a conclusion to this section, supported by relatively little archaeological evidence, the Sanctuary at Corinth draws together the elements of the vase, and its experience within sacred space. Often, it is not possible to completely separate the experience of the vase as a practical thing and as a symbolic thing. The vessel had a particular purpose, evoked by its form, but an alternation in size and context transformed the vase into something other. This transformation is context dependent. This issue is developed in the second part of this chapter, when the vessel is valued for its function, and symbolic functionality.

Vessels of Ritual Practice

The practice of rituals has no intended result other than experience. This is true for rituals in general, as well as ritual practice in Athens. The performative nature of ritual condenses and simplifies the experience and meaning of living in the world by transforming the event into an expression of lived-experience.[63] Beside the meaning of the ritual event itself, the objects used during this experience carried further significance, as outlined by Bell in her influential study of ritual; “with regard to objects as sacred symbols, their sacrality is the way in which the object is more than the mere sum of its parts and points to something beyond itself, thereby evoking and expressing values and attitudes associated with larger, more abstract, and relatively transcendent ideas.”[64] The concept that Bell lays out here is not dissimilar to the definition of functionality applied to the vase throughout this study. The vase moves beyond its function through an accumulation of meanings determined by its role in social interactive space.

[62] See Chapter Four.
[63] See Bell (2009) 157ff for ritual experience in general, and Parker (2005) 158 for rituals in Athens.
[64] Bell (2009) 157.

Therefore, the significance of the vase when used during ritual practice is the pinnacle of wider meaning and transcendence. The vase becomes a religious artefact and a ritual tool.

During the following discussion emphasis is placed upon the function and experience of the vase during ritual practice. And yet, function cannot be considered in isolation from functionality. Therefore, the function that the vase performed, as a practical vessel or a symbol, was determined by a meaning that went beyond the vessel itself. The vase comes to express experience and lived-experience. This expression is found in both the form and the surface. This phenomenon is examined through three types of vessels – the loutrophoros, the lebes gamikos, and the lekythos – and two relatively small-scale domestic ritual events – the wedding and funeral. Discussion turns then to particular connections between vases and Athenian religious festivals. In each case of this two part section, it is apparent that the distinction between the vase being used, and then becoming an offering is a hazy one, as one impacts upon the other.

Weddings and Funerals

By adhering to a life defined by religion, an individual goes through stages in their lives referred to as rites of passage. Marriage is an obvious example, which transforms the individual by introducing them into a new life of incorporation. The rite of passage of marriage is the basis of social order.[65] However, this emphasis upon transformation and universality has been questioned by those wishing to break away from the problematics of initiation in favour of adopting a more synchronic approach.[66] This is discussed further in Chapter Four. For now, it is sufficient to emphasise the transformative power of the ritual.

The loutrophoros is a distinctive vessel, with two or three handles, tall and narrow with a long neck, traditionally associated with marriage rituals. Its height can range between 25cms up to 95cms, with large marble examples appearing in Athenian graveyards during the fifth century. This often large and delicate vessel functioned as a water carrier, providing the bride-to-be with water for a ritual bath the night before the ceremony.[67] The water was collected by friends and

[65] For marriage in Athens, see Oakley and Sinos (1993) 1, for marriage across cultures, see Bell (2009) 98-99, also see Chapter Five.
[66] Graf (2003) 20.
[67] For information regarding the pre-wedding bath in Athens, see Larson (2001).

relatives from springs like the Enneakrounos in Athens, a fountain with nine outlets.[68] Iconography also suggests that the vase made an appropriate wedding gift.[69] After the wedding, the loutrophoros could be kept by the bride or dedicated at a sanctuary or shrine.[70]

If the marriage ritual transformed and connected two individuals as a confirmation of the social order and stability, the function of the loutrophoros was highly significant. The water it carried washed away the previous life and identity of the bride-to-be, leaving her ready to begin her new life in another household. This rejection of her previous life, and cleansing before entering her new one was essential. The function of the loutrophoros was central to this experience. As a result of this ritual the vessel became an icon of this rite of passage, by representing the life and beauty of the female in her role as wife. This process converted the function of the loutrophoros into functionality which is illuminated in self-referential iconography. For example, a red-figure loutrophoros-amphora in Athens, attributed to the Washing Painter, dated to 430-420 B.C, depicts a processional scene (fig. 3.11).[71] Women hold torches and lead the procession, as a boy playing flutes follows behind. A girl, her age indicated by her height, carries a loutrophoros as large as her torso. Eros flies alongside her, reaching towards its handles. The bride, with head turned down and body fully veiled, follows behind. Another female follows with a torch, and a final female adjusts her veil.[72] The procession is taking the bride for her ritual bath. This combination of the function of the loutrophoros, and the way in which it reflects itself, emphasises the significance of this ritual. The image functions alongside the form.

Returning briefly to the conversion of the vase into a votive offering, loutrophoroi were often placed on the graves of unmarried men and women.[73] For example, Demosthenes refers to the figure of a girl bearing a loutrophoros on the grave of the unmarried Archiades.[74] Throughout the sixth century, black-figure loutrophoroi show scenes of women in mourning and *prothesis*. For instance, a black-figure loutrophoros, now in Cleveland, dated to c.500 B.C,

[68] See Travlos (1980) 204-209.
[69] Select example, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 15592, Berlin, Staaliche Museen inv. 3373, London, British Museum, 1920. 12-21.1.
[70] For example, a large number have been excavated from the Shrine of Nymphe and in caves associated with nymphs on the Athenian Acropolis, discussed shortly. Dedications have also been found in the caves at Vari, in Attica, a site of a sacred spring. For discussion, see Dillon (2002) 219-220.
[71] Athens, National Museum 1435.
[72] For further discussion of this scene and others of its type, see Oakley and Sinos (1993) 15-16.
[73] Dillon (2002) 220.
[74] Dem.44.18,30, see also Hesych. sv loutrophoros and Poll. 8.66.

depicts a scene of mourners (fig.3.12).[75] Although only partly visible here, four women dressed in black hold their arms in strong gestures of grief. In the main scene, six women, also dressed in black, gather around the body of a youth laid out on a couch. Behind these, three bearded men raise their hands in unison towards the deceased. This gender contrast in mourning is established iconographically. Other black-figure examples depict the loutrophoros present at the funerary scene, either alongside the tomb or with the mourning women.[76] It seems likely that the loutrophoros was also used to prepare the body for the afterlife; another rite of passage which caused a permanent transformation. The event was intended to purify and expel emotion. The vessel was then transformed into a ritualised symbol of life, as well as death. Herein lies functionality.

The loutrophoros in miniature form has been discovered in large numbers at the Shrine of Nymphe in Athens, and the caves dedicated to the nymphs across Attica. Rather than having a funereal function, the votive offerings celebrated a significant moment in the life of a woman, when she became a bride. Discussion returns to this in detail shortly.

The lebes gamikos is another vessel figuratively and functionally embedded in wedding rituals.[77] Produced from the second quarter of the sixth century onwards, the lebes gamikos has two distinctive forms. Type A has a stand, type B has a low base with a taller neck. Each type has a lid. The size varies greatly from 38cms to 64cms in the taller neck versions, and 23cms to 46cms in the low foot versions.[78] Miniatures of 10cms and smaller have also been discovered. Although the vase is closely associated with wedding rituals, the function of the lebes gamikos is unknown. This provisional link between the vessel and weddings is made on the basis of wedding iconography, which is depicted often on the lebes gamikos itself, and the vessel is presented as a gift to the bride. A type A red-figure lebes gamikos, attributed to the Mykonos Painter, dated between 500-450 B.C, now in Copenhagen, depicts a scene of domestic adornment and the beginning of a torch procession (fig. 3.13, side A).[79] Side A shows a seated bride holding a type A lebes gamikos. A woman in front of the bride holds out a decorative cup and has an alabastron in her other hand. A woman behind appears to be placing something on

[75] Cleveland 27.145.
[76] See Athens, National Museum, 450 and New York, Metropolitan Museum: 27.228 and in red-figure; Paris, Musée du Louvre: CA453.
[77] Lebes gamikos, meaning 'wedding bowl', is a modern name.
[78] Schreiber (1999) 165.
[79] Copenhagen, National Museum 9165.

the bride's head. Suspended above the bride is an object hard to discern. It could be another vessel, or possibly a bag. If this scene was stripped bare of objects, interpretation would lean towards a generic illustration of female domesticity. It is the objects in the scene, and the lebes gamikos at the centre which directs our interpretation. The combination of the female and lebes gamikos equals bride.

Going back to funerary rituals, focus returns to the meaning of the lekythos. When discussing funerary rituals, Lissarrague describes the vase as a "ritual element" with an essential role.[80] To Lissarrague, the vase was a component of the whole experience of ritual. Lissarrague is right to emphasise the importance of the vase in this context, but this does not go far enough. The vase was not only an element in ritual practice, standing alongside other components, it embodied the experience. No vase demonstrates this as well as the lekythos, whose function and iconography conveyed the funerary experience. Very popular in the fifth century, but later replaced by stone lekythoi from 430s onwards, lekythoi were flasks for holding oil and perfume.[81] There are three main types of lekythoi; type one had a curved body with continuous neck, type two has a shoulder which stands out from the body, and type three is squat without a defined shoulder. Type two is the most emblematic.[82] Within these types, lekythoi vary greatly in size, beginning in black-figure measuring between 14cms to 18cms in height, and then in red-figure and white-glazed measuring between 20cms to 48cms. Created at the end of the fifth century, several huge lekythoi survive, measuring 70cms to 100cms high.[83] These huge lekythoi of monumental size, only five of which survive, were painted towards the end of the fifth century, and appear to be the work of one painter. The iconography is canonical, depicting figures sitting at a tomb, anothers show the *prothesis*.[84] Clearly, these huge vessels were designed for display, and not practical use. This is reflected in the form of the lekythoi as some are bottomless, and others have separate mouths.[85] The reaction that such huge lekythoi provoked in the viewer (not the user in this case) depended entirely upon functionality. The significance of the lekythoi to the funerary context needed to be understood. By amplifying the visual impact of the lekythoi, whilst at the same time removing function, the huge lekythoi acted

[80] Lissarrague (2001) 112.
[81] Cook (1972) 230, Dillion (2002) 287.
[82] See Kurtz (1975) for a detailed over view of the shape in the lekythoi in general.
[83] Schreiber (1999) 171-185.
[84] Copenhagen, 4986 and Berlin, F2684.
[85] For detailed discussion of huge lekythoi, and a comparison with stone lekythoi, see Kurtz (1975) 68-73.

as a monument of functionality. At the other extreme, many miniature examples have been excavated.[86]

Excavations have revealed the funerary nature of the lekythoi, and blurred the boundaries between the function of the lekythos within the funerary ritual – as supplying oil and liquids – and the functionality of the lekythos as a votive offering. The Marathon tumulus is a famous example of this practice, contained the remains of the Athenians who died in battle in 490 B.C. The first element of the burial was the central cremation tray, and a surrounding ring of black-figure lekythoi.[87] These were left as grave goods, used to honour the dead. A second example, this time in the Athenian Agora, is the ceramic material excavated from the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania (Heavenly Aphrodite). This altar, which is the only surviving part of the sanctuary, was the focal point of a major shrine. It continued to be used into late Antiquity. The Altar was erected around 500 B.C, and received regular visits from worshippers. Evidence of sacrifice is spread across the area. Significantly, the vast majority of dedicated objects discovered here are fragments of black-figured lekythoi.[88] Finally, one hundred and seventy seven squat lekythoi were excavated from the Crossroads Enclosure, just across the way from the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania. The majority of decorated with a single red-figure palmette. This is discussed again in detail.

Of particular interest here is the production and popularity of the white-ground lekythos over a limited period. The technique of the white-ground was rendered in regular clay which was then coated with clay free from iron oxides, this created an almost ghostly background. By the end of the second quarter of the fifth century, such white-ground lekythoi were produced exclusively for the funerary market.[89] In Kurtz's detailed study of white-ground lekythoi, she suggests that the reason behind their popularity was the austerity measures against personal monuments.[90] When these stipulations changed, the vessel went into downturn. The Mycenaean tomb which opened this chapter acts as a prime example of the conventional use of white-ground lekythoi (fig.3.1). Even though the long dead had no connection or knowledge of

[86] See Young (1951) for lekythoi the pyres. Also excavated at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, see Pemberton et al (1989).
[87] Whitley (1994a) 213.
[88] For the excavation report, see T.L. Shear Jr., *Hesperia*, 58 (1984) 30ff, and on the fragmentary votive relief of Aphrodite, see M. Edwards, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 59-72. For a summary account with images, see Camp (2010) 102-103.
[89] Kurtz (1975) xiv.
[90] Kurtz (1975) 74.

the practice of the living, the most symbolic mark of respect that the current generation could pay was to leave behind a lekythos after the accidental intrusion.

The iconography of the vessel also connected it to the funerary realm, which reflected cultural practices associated with the rites of the dead. The iconography of the white-ground lekythos acted as a replacement for more ostentatious grave markers and could be buried with the dead or left as offerings at grave sides.[91] This type of vessel reflects rites of burial. For instance, a red-figure white-ground lekythos, attributed to the Inscription Painter, dated to 460 B.C, and returned to Athens from Eretria, depicts a grave side scene (fig. 3.14).[92] Two women stand alongside a highly decorative stele with lines of dashes suggesting an inscription. The woman uses her clothes to dry her tears as she holds a sash. A sash is already tied around the stele, but she adds a second. Suspended above her head is a black-glazed lekythos. The iconography evokes the emotions and experience of the funerary context. In this way, the lekythos provokes a reaction in the viewer which ties together with the social setting. The surface of the vase becomes a component of the function, as the oil is used to cleanse the dead and the image is used as catharsis for the living viewer.

The function/ality of these vessels was activated by experience. The vessel as an object with agency was dependent upon the relational context to provoke a reaction in the viewer. This was done through both the function of the vessel, and its figurative surface. However, the relational context itself - whether marriage ceremony or funeral - was equally dependent upon the function/ality of these vessels, which interacted with the emotions and experience of the ritual practice. The vase became a personification of ritual practice.

Festivals

In this section discussion focuses upon the role and experience of particular vessels with significant connections to religious festivals. These festivals were a part of collective life and brought religious experience to the forefront of the community. A vessel which was part of the symbolic language of festival became a very meaningful object. According to Parker these

[91] See Kurtz (1975), Dillion (2002) 282-288, Lissarrague (2001) 112.
[92] Athens, National Museum 1958.

vessels were; “in the service of the gods”.[93] This service came in a variety of forms, for example, wives of metics carried hydriai when in procession. During the festival of Adonis, potsherds were used as seed gardens on the tops of houses.[94] Discussion here considers the ritual service of four different vessels, during four very different festivals. Each festival is distinct from the other, and the functionality of each vessel is unique to the festival it symbolises. Beginning with the Panathenaea, an all-inclusive festival used to present Athens to the world, discussion ends with the Mysteries, an experience only available to those initiated. In this movement from inclusive to exclusive, the festival vessel becomes increasingly less objectified and increasingly more symbolic. This is manifest in the connection between economic exchange and function.

The Panathenaea and the Amphora

The Panathenaea offered a unique ritual experience. In contrast to the Anthesteria and the Mysteries, the Panathenaea brought the *polis* together as a whole, as well as Greeks from further afield, in worship of Athena. It was a civic festival, developed during the fifth century into an expression of imperial power. It acted as a “great domestic showcase”, and an embodiment of collective belief.[95] The central event was the procession, in which representatives from across Athenian society marched from the Kerameikos, through the Agora and to the Acropolis.[96] Every four years the festival expanded to become the Great Panathenaea, open to all Greeks, and most likely included the presentation of Athena's Panathenaic robe.[97]

An incidental illustration of the scale of the festival is made by a particular cup, the Panathenaikon or Panathenaic cup, recorded by Athenaeus. The cup was very large, and contained the same amount of liquid as two choes, and some were even larger than this.[98] Using this cup as a metaphor, the significance, scale and reach of the Panathenaea, over spilled the boundaries of the *polis*.

The Panathenaic amphora was the icon of the Great Panathenaea. Unlike the chous and the plemochoe to come, whose value was in its ritualised meaning, the Panathenaic amphora had additional commercial value. Both the construction of the vase and the olive oil it

[93] Parker (2005) 180, see also Plemochoai 181, hydria-bearing 258 and potsherd gardens, 284.
[94] For a representation of this practice, see Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, B 39.
[95] Parker (2005).
[96] During the procession, the wife of a metric would carry a hydria, see Parker (2005) 258.
[97] For a detailed examination of the Panathenaea, see Parker (2005) 253-269.
[98] Athen. 11.495a.

contained was of the finest quality. Those in possession of the Panathenaics were encouraged to sell them.[99] The vase was in essence an enlarged standard amphora, but made to fit with specific regulations regarding its capacity.[100] From the earliest period of its production, during the sixth and fifth century, the vessel measured between 62cms and 67cms in height. This exaggerated height is evident when compared to amphorae of the same period, which measured between 30cms and 45cms. In the fourth century, the Panathenaics became taller, increasing in height to between 68cms and 82cms.[101] In its largest form, the Panathenaics measure in at just under three-feet.

It was not only its height which made the vessel so distinctive. The iconography was repetitive and canonical, to such an extent that the red-figure technique never made an impact on its surface. The producers made a deliberately archaising vessel.[102] Typically, the canonical surface of the Panathenaic depicts Athena as a warrior goddess in Archaic style. Her pose goes through changes but the conservative style remains the same. On the reverse, scenes of athletic and equestrian contests dominate.[103] Prize-winning Panathenaics, generally of the larger size, were inscribed; '*ton athenethen athlon',* meaning 'a prize from Athens'. Kyle describes the Panathenaics in these terms; "civic, self-declaratory prizes of material and symbolic value".[104] The vessel promoted the image and values of the state. A Panathenaic prize amphora, signed by Nikias, dated to 560 B.C, and now in New York provides a canonical example (fig. 3.15).[105] The vessel measures 62.2cms in height. On the observe side stands Athena in Archaic style brandishing a shield and spear. Running on the left side is the Panathenaic inscription, and on the right is the less official signature of Nikias. On the reverse are three running adult males, in similarly Archaic style, with an inscription above them, which reads the "sprint of the men".[106]

The Panathenaics were prizes, awarded to athletes victorious. They represented outstanding achievement and superiority.[107] Unlike other ritually symbolic vessels, the Panathenaics could be bought only for large sums of money. They personified the will and

[99] Kyle (1996) 122.
[100] Hamilton (1992) 143ff and Neils (1992) 39.
[101] Schreiber (1999) 83-87.
[102] Neils (1992) 30.
[103] For discussion of style, see Neils (1992).
[104] Kyle (1996) 117, Hamilton (1992) 131-132.
[105] New York, MMA 1978.11.13.
[106] Translation Neils (1992) 41.
[107] Kyle (1996) 106.

power of the individual, rather than the experience of the collective. The material value of the Panathenaics rivalled their ritual functionality. To some extent, the symbolism of the Panathenaic was expressed commercially.

The value of the Panathenaics as a symbol is demonstrated through two types of imitation; first, the reduced-scale reproductions, and second, miniatures. Beginning around 550 B.C, and produced until the beginning of the fifth century, so-called 'pseudo-Panathenaics' or reduced-scale arrived on the market. These reduced-scale vessels measured approximately half of the standard size, between 38cms to 44cms, and have no inscriptions.[108] The iconography is canonical, with select variations. The function of these vessels lends themselves as containers for wine, or as commemoratives and souvenirs for the export market.[109] The second type, miniature rather than reduced-scale, measured between 8cms to 9cms. Produced from 400 B.C onwards, continuing to the second quarter of the fourth century, these miniatures break away from the canonical iconography. Generally, depictions of torch-bearers or seated athletes cover the surface.[110] An unusual example is provided by a miniature, dated to 400 B.C and now in Baltimore, depicting Athena and Poseidon on one side and Hermes and an olive tree on the reverse (fig. 3.16).[111] Measuring in at 8.7cms high, the Baltimore miniature makes no direct connection with the Panathenaea, but to a monument in Athens.[112] A representation of a tourist attraction. These vessels seemed to have functioned as containers for scented oils, as well as memorabilia.[113]

The commercial value of the Panathenaics may have been exploited by the potters and painters, but this originated from the function/ality of the large vessels as international symbols of power, superiority and faith.[114] Rather than selling their valuable prizes, some victors chose to offer the Panathenaic at sanctuaries on the Acropolis, as well as sanctuaries outside Athens.[115] Some kept their prizes, even in death, as relatives buried the vessel with the victor.[116]

The Panathenaics retained a significant function as containers for olive oil. However, their significance was not contained in this function, but in the method of its reception. The

[108] For more information about reduced-scale reproductions, see Neils (1992) 42ff, Parker (2005) 253.
[109] Examples have been excavated in Italy, see Neils (1992) 42-46.
[110] Neils (1992) images 64-66.
[111] The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 48.59.
[112] Neils (1992) 189, Pausanias I.24.3.
[113] Neils (1992) 45.
[114] Neils (1992) 45.
[115] For details, see Neils (1992) 49-50.
[116] Neils (1992) 29 and Hamilton (1992) 143.

vessels were prizes, to be cherished forever, or entrusted to the gods. The deliberate archaising of the iconography bestowed a stasis to their ritual functionality. A victory fifty or one hundred years apart was marked in the same way. But unlike any other vessel discussed here, the reality of the vessel as commodity remained. The vessel provoked admiration in the viewer, but this focused upon the achievements of the individual, rather than the collective experience of the polis. The function/ality of the Panathenaics bridged religious symbolism and individual evaluation.

The Anthesteria and the Choes

The Anthesteria was one of the four Athenian festivals held in honour of Dionysus during January and February. Although the festival was held on a *polis*-wide scale, its defining characteristic was its domestic location. The activities combined both collective experience and the domestic environment. This observation is made by Parker; "The Anthesteria makes a collective event out of what might just have been an event in the life of the individual house".[117] Over the three day festival, the ritual activities were confined to small domestic groups, and for the majority of time to the household. The intention behind this festival was to experience collective life within the household. To reflect this domestic character the days were named after three different vessels; pithoi (storage jars), choes (small cups) and chytroi (cooking pots). The Pithoigea was associated with pot opening and the broaching of the new wine, which perhaps occurred communally at a sanctuary. The Choes involved a drinking competition. The Chytroi was the day every household prepared an offering to Hermes Chthonios.[118] This significance of the chytra has already been discussed. Here attention is paid to the most distinctive and most mysterious vessel used during this festival; the chous. Not only did the chous have an impact upon activities of the day, it also reflected an essence of the festival figuratively, however mysteriously to us.

The chous is shaped by a wide middle with a trefoil mouth. The size varies from 18cms to 24cms in height, whilst miniature examples have been discovered almost exclusively in Athens. These miniature versions are thought to be the vessel of choice during the Choes.[119] In

[117] Parker (2005) 315.
[118] Parker (2005) 290ff, for more details about domestic rituals, see Chapter One.
[119] Not all choes should be associated with the Anthesteria, Parker (2005) 298, suggests that 800

Hamilton's detailed study of the Anthesteria and the chous, he outlines three basic characteristics of the festival choes; miniature size, repetitive iconography and self-representation. Additionally, the production of this miniature was done over a limited time during the last quarter of the fifth century.[120] This restrictive production date and economic market adds to the problematics of this vessel, as its place within the ritual experience of the Anthesteria was evidently not firm.[121] Even more curiously, the function of choes is undetermined.[122] It has been suggested that the chous was used by children during this festival for their first taste of wine.[123] Fragments have also been found on the Acropolis, perhaps offered as a dedication.[124] Or more simply, the vessel could have been a gift.[125] These interpretations are all speculative.

A red-figure chous, excavated from Athens and now in Copenhagen, depicts a small crawling child wearing a wreath, moving towards a chous (fig.3.17).[126] The vessel measures only 7.1cms in height, under half of the size of a standard chous.[127] This example illustrates the standard iconography of this type of miniature chous associated with the Anthesteria. The wreath suggests ritual activity. The standardisation of iconography is significant here, as even though produced over a short period, this image of a crawling child represented the events of the Choes. The main focus of the day was a drinking competition, held at home amongst friends and family. These activities of the Choes represented something of an inversion of ordinary drinking practices, as drinking was done in silence, and in large quantities.[128] For a restricted time, the chous symbolised this collision between collective and domestic ritualised activity.

A contrast needs to be drawn here. When discussing the loutrophoros, lebes gamikos and the lekythos, the ritual experience was evoked by the function of the vessel as well as its image. The iconography of the miniature chous acts differently. It places itself at the centre of the festival without depicting the key activity of the day. An image of drinking similar to the popular sympotic scene would perhaps be more appropriate. The miniature chous further confuses the modern viewer, whilst at the same time reflects something mysterious regarding

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examples excavated from Athens are limited to festival use.
[120] Hamilton (1992) 143.
[121] Parker (2005) 298.
[122] Hamilton (1992) 143.
[123] Parker (2005) 301.
[124] Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll.: 2.722; Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll.: 2.723.
[125] Hamilton (1992) 121.
[126] Copenhagen, 10121.
[127] Schreiber (1999) 203-204.
[128] For the significance of the festival see select, Hamilton (1999) 201-218, Parker (2005) 290ff.

the power of Dionysus in the collective and domestic experience.

The Brauronia, Athens and Attica

Our final sacred space begins in Brauron at the Sanctuary of Artemis, and ends at the Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis. The worship of Artemis at both these locations was essential to the public display of religious belief.[129] The significance of the ritual practice which occurred in particular at the sanctuary in Brauron has induced much scholarly debate. For our purposes, an outline of the structure of these complexes opens discussion. The main focus here is the use of a particular vessel, known by scholars as *krateriskoi*, which was dedicated at the sanctuary in Brauron, on the Acropolis, and fragments have been discovered in the Agora.

The *arkteia* was a maturation ritual for young girls before marriage, which took place at the sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron and Mounichia. Once every four years, the great festival of the Brauronia was held at Brauron, in which the 'little bears' or *arktoi* performed for an audience in honour of Artemis. The origin of cultic practice at the site of Brauron goes back to the Geometric period.[130] The sanctuary was still in use during the third century, and was later abandoned due to flooding. The site itself, although only partly excavated, encompassed a large stoa, 'the old temple and 'the Parthenon' (fig.3.18).[131] The three-sided stoa, built in the late fifth century, contained nine separate rooms, with off-centre doorways, and space to accommodate eleven couches. Evidently, these facilities were used for ritual banqueting. The identity of the diners who ate inside these rooms has provoked further debate. In Redfield's study of the ritual and the complex, attention is drawn to the small size of couches, suited to children. However, Redfield does concede that such couches have been found elsewhere.[132] Generally speaking, the suggestion that the dining facilities were used by the little bears is refuted.[133] Religious officials and privileged worshippers would have likely dined here during festive occasions.

The shrine of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis was built during the seventh century, when local Attic cults were being brought into Athens. The arrival of Artemis Brauronia from Brauron is attributed to Peisistratos. The shrine does not seem to have had a temple, but the

[129] Ferrari (2002) 176 and Parker (2005) 231.
[130] For excavation summary, see J. Papadimitriou, 'The Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron', *Scientific American* 208 (1963) 111-120.
[131] See Tomlinson (1976) 110-111 and Goette (2001) 220-3.
[132] Redfield (2003) 100.
[133] Parker (2005) 230.

two stoa wings could have housed cult statues (fig.3.19). Seven steps led up to the shrine.[134] The presence of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis did not alter the importance of the sanctuary at Brauron. Its role was to represent the importance of this cult to the public worship of Athens.

The festival of the Brauronia provided the opportunity for Athenian girls to become the *arktoi,* or little bears of Artemis. The myth behind this ritual involved the killing of a bear at the sanctuary of Artemis. To recreate this event, the *arktoi* played the bear in games of chase.[135] These girls, of an uncertain age, served Artemis at the shrine for an unknown period, after which the *arktoi* leave the sanctuary, ready for marriage and womanhood. Debate has focused upon the aspects of transition and rites of passage that the festival provided for the young girls.[136] Without getting entangled in this scholarship, which requires a rigorous and considered definition of initiation, transition and rites of passage, a suggestion by Sourvinou-Inwood is worth engaging with. Sourvinou-Inwood places the Brauronia in the category of uncontrollable biological transition, in which the body began to move from childhood to maturity. The celebration of such a transition was connected to an anxiety of female development. By subjecting the girls to such a rite of passage, “the alien female body is brought under male, cultural, control”.[137] However, surviving representations on marble plaques show girls of ages between seven and ten, further complicating an interpretation based upon rite of passage.

Little is known regarding the particular activities of the *arktoi,* and so interpretation of the iconography of vessels, which were produced uniquely for this event, has been mined for details.[138] Perhaps in a way similar to the use of the chous during the Anthesteria, the *krateriskos*, meaning 'little krater', seems to have been produced specifically for the Brauronia. The vessels are miniature in size, and are typically decorated in black-figure in a deliberately archaising fashion. Examples have been discovered in a considerable number at Brauron and Mounichia, other shrines of Artemis, as well as the Athenian Acropolis, the Agora, and the cave of the Nymphs at Eleusis.[139] In marked contrast to other vessels discussed through this study, the *krateriskoi* were not made in Athens but somewhere in Attica. This suggests that localised

[134] See Travlos (1980) 124 and Stevens*, Hesperia* 5 (1936) p.459-470 information and images.
[135] See Faraone (2003) for a breakdown of this myth and the ritual practices.
[136] Sourvinou-Inwood (1988), Redfield (2003), Faraone (2003) 43-68.
[137] Sourvinou-Inwood (1988) 29.
[138] See Lissarrague (1994a) for the connection between ritual bear dance and the iconography, 189.
[139] Kahil (1981) 253-263.

production was significant, as the quality of the clay and decoration did not exceed the capabilities of potters in Athens.

Much like the Panathenaic amphorae and the choes, the iconography of the *krateriskos* is repetitive and intentionally evocative of ritualised practices. Key iconographic elements such as palm trees and altars suggest a connection with Artemis and contextualised the activities with a ritualised space.[140] Girls are depicted dancing or running, naked or clothed, surrounded by architectural and natural elements. In Kahil's detailed study of this iconography, she suggests that the images reflect the activities of the *arkteia* specifically. The majority of *krateriskoi* are not published; however the fragments excavated from Athens are available for discussion. A fragment of a black-figure *krateriskos,* excavated in area of the Southeast Stoa in the Agora provides an example of the material (fig.3.20).[141] The fragment depicts two clothed girls, rendered with white skin. The figure cut off to the left looks to be an animal, perhaps a deer. The lines are black paint, with white relief on the clay. The girls hold hands and seem to be dancing. Kahil suggests that this is a state of *arkteia* ritual activity.[142] A second fragment, excavated from the Acropolis, and likely to have once been dedicated at the Artemis Brauronia, depicts a black painted altar with the white foot of a clothed female alongside it (fig.3.21).[143] Although scattered across the Acropolis, other fragments which connect to this one focus on music, female figures, architectural features and movement. It is possible to speculate that this *krateriskos* was bought from near the sanctuary at Brauron, and then taken back to Athens and dedicated at the shrine of the Acropolis.

The suggestion that such miniature vessels represent unique activities performed during the festival has been divisive. In Hamilton's response to Kahil's analysis, he states that the iconographies of the vessels are too generic and inconsistent. The images are not distinct enough, but depict ritual activity more generally; procession, dance and races. Hamilton suggests that these were private dedications made by private individuals.[144] In Ferrari's study of the iconography of gender in Greece, she also disassociates these images with the rituals at Brauron specifically, and argues that these images reflect a “legendary state”, in which naked

[140] For an examination of the ritual role of palm trees, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1985) 125-146.
[141] P 27342.
[142] Kahil (1981) 254.
[143] Acr. 621,b.
[144] Hamilton (1989). Hamilton also stresses the association between Alkman's poem and female ritual activities.

females did run around and dance, but in the distant past, and not in contemporary Athens.[145] Much like the conservatism of ritual iconography in general, which is discussed in relation to scenes of sacrifice below, images which appear to reflect contemporary, or current rituals rarely if ever do. The ritual vessel performed a very different function than the one Kahil attributes to it. It is not a reflection of an event the purchaser saw, or even participated in. Females certainly did engage in festivals like the *arkteia*, but the significance of the *krateriskoi* was connected to personal vow and experience of religion.

An interesting adaptation of the *krateriskoi* iconography is found in two red-figure fragmentary, but full size kraters.[146] Dated between 430-420 B.C, these vessels fulfil the conventional iconography of the *krateriskoi,* but with added artistic sophistication and image complexity. These two kraters are not ritual vessels in the same way as their miniatures counterparts.[147] Three red-figure fragments from the same krater, now in Basel, draw strong visual connected with the Attic miniatures (fig.3.22).[148] One fragment details clothed female figures, evidently of different ages, in front of a palm tree. To the right, a woman stands in front of an altar, raising branches. Another fragment shows female figures running, and one woman carrying a basket. A set of four fragments in the same collection details naked girls or *arktoi* running (fig.3.23).[149] Hunting hounds occupy the lower frieze, and palm trees feature at least twice. Evidently, this is the realm of Artemis. Both these full size Basel kraters were excavated in Brauron, specifically made depicting conventional iconography, but in a non-archaising technique. Perhaps a worshipper commissioned these pieces when in Athens, and brought them to the Brauron sanctuary for dedication. Still, this is the land of figurative myths, rather than contemporary reflection. The increase in size from a votive miniature to a full size vessel, but keeping an iconographic consistency is curious. The miniature Panathenaics were produced in the reverse order of this, and were made at the same time as the full size versions. The majority of *krateriskoi* date to the second quarter of the fifth century, yet these are several decades after their production. The functionality and meaning of the *krateriskoi* and the iconography is condensed into an image which fulfils the ritual function of the miniature ritual

[145] Ferrari (2002) 167 and 175.
[146] For images and detailed description, see Reeder (1995) 322-327.
[147] Ferrari (2002) 170 and Parker (2005).
[148] Basel, Collection of Herbert A. Cahn, HC 501.
[149] Basel, Collection of Herbet A. Cahn, HC 502.

vessel, but on a full size version.

The *krateriskos* was not intended to fulfil the function of a full size krater. The function it was designed to fulfil was specifically concerned with the ritual context. The archaising, the repetitive iconography, its setting in sanctuaries, and its reduced size, point without doubt to its ritual functionality. This converted offering, dedicated to Artemis, was left behind to mark a vow or give thanks. What is surprising is that more were not dedicated at Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis.

The Mysteries and Plemochoe:

The Mysteries, associated with the worship of Demeter and Kore, consisted of a ceremony of initiation.[150] It was a type of mystery cult, with its centre at Eleusis, not far from Athens.[151] Eleusis was the heart of the Mysteries and it was only here that the revelation of the mysteries occurred. Athenians would make a procession from the Eleusinion, on the edges of the Agora, to Eleusis. The motivation behind this experience was the surety of a blessed afterlife.

In contrast to the Anthesteria, participation in this mystery cult was an expression of personal, individual religious belief. It was an Athenian festival, excluding non-Greeks. Although most Athenians were initiated, not all who lived in the city were. Any Athenian or Greek, male or female, free or slave, could be initiated, providing they could pay the initiation fee.[152] Once initiated, the individual was required to sacrifice a piglet at their own expense. Although inclusive to all Greeks, the personal cost would have excluded many people living in the *polis*. Little is known of the activities of the Mysteries.[153] However, the Eleusinion in Athens held the sacred objects to be displayed to initiates, until they were taken on to Eleusis for the festival.[154] During this procession from Athens to Eleusis, women would carry plemochoai on their heads, and these vessels were used again during the rites of the festival.[155]

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[150] It was a festival which part of a larger cult to Demeter, for the wider context, see Parker (2005) 328ff. Here, we discuss the Great Mysteries, rather than the Lesser Mysteries, which attracted less initiands, see Parker (2005) 344-345.
[151] For information on Eleusis and the sanctuary, see select bibliography, Parker (2005) 334ff, and M.B. Cosmopoulos *Greek Mysteries* (London, 2003).
[152] Dikaios, Hdt. 8.65, see Parker (2005) 327, costs are unknown, see Parker (2005) 342, ft.65.
[153] The majority of material covers the sacrifices made during the festival, see Parker (2005) 328 for details.
[154] *IG* II² 1078, See Parker (2005) 346 for discussion.
[155] For a representation of this, see the Ninnion pinax from Eleusis.

The plemochoe was emblematic of the Mysteries.[156] The third day of the festival was known as the Plemochoai, after the vessel. It was a day on which libation rites to the dead were made. The shape and form of the vessel is distinctive. With an incurving rim and an overhanging interior, the liquid inside was firmly contained with the addition of a lid. It is generally associated with libations, but was not used exclusively during the Mysteries.[157] Although little is known of the Mysteries as a whole, Athenaeus writing in the second century AD, records the involvement of the plemochoe on the third day; "It was used at Eleusis on the final day of the Mysteries, which is accordingly referred to as Plemochoai. On this day they fill two plemochoai, and standing facing east in the case of one, and facing west in the case of the other … and turn them upside down, reciting a formula associated with the Mysteries".[158] In Ochsenschlager's study of this ritual he states that it represents an ancient practice associated with fertility and the renewal of life. The plemochoai, Ochsenschlager states, "probably embodied symbolically the central hopes, fears, and revelations of the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis".[159]

In Athens, excavations of the west side of the City Eleusinion uncovered a number of plemochoai from both wells and deposits (fig.3.24).[160] In fact, one of the major factors in identifying the area of the Eleusinion was the deposits of this vessel. The importance of this vessel is magnified in a marble plemochoe, which measured around two feet, and stood against a door or wall.[161] A second plemochoe is represented in a relief, which was incorporated into the Little Metropolitan Church, and is still visible.[162] The complex had early origins, and continued to be used into the Hellenistic period. Regardless of its importance to the religious life of initiated Athenians, the structures were simple and modest.

Generally speaking, plemochoai were made from fairly poor quality Attic clay, the same used for cooking vessels and votive offerings. The surface decoration consists of white slip and some examples of glaze. They also vary greatly in size. One particular plemochoe, discovered

[156] Miles (1998) 96 and Parker (2005) 350.
[157] For the use of plemochoe in funerary rituals, see Ochsenschlager (1970) 319-323. The kernoi was a vessel with small cups around the rim, and is also associated with Demeter. For discussion of the kernoi in Athens, see Pollitt (1979). Brommer concludes that the plan type, without cups – plemochoe – was the Eleusinian vessel, see 'Plemochoe,' (1980) *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 544-549.
[158] Athen. 11.496a-c, translation Olson (2006). For a similar reference to the plemochoe see Poll.10.74.
[159] Ochsenschlager (1970) 336, for its associated with the Mysteries see 323-330.
[160] For the City Eleusinion, see Wycherley (1978)71ff, Travlos (1980) 198-203, Miles (1998) esp. 95-104, and Goette (2001) 87. For the deposits, see Pollitt (1979) and Miles (1998).
[161] A 2410, for discussion of the marble plemochoe, see Miles (1998) 100ff.
[162] See Miles (1998) 95 for discussion, pl 22, 23b.

in twenty five fragments, has an estimated diameter of 26cms.[163] When compared to the several miniatures discovered in the same area, with diameters of 2.4cms, the meaning and function of these two vessels must have been radically different.[164] Within this contrast in size is the distinction between practicality and symbolism. This variance in material, decoration and size leads to the conclusion that such vessels were used only once, for a specific purpose, and during an event.[165] Returning to the deposits associated with the Eleusinion, the majority of fragments date to the fourth century, with the latest examples dating to the second half of the second century B.C.[166] Two deposits in the area illustrate the complex function/ality of the plemochoe within this ritualised context. Additionally, these deposits resemble finds in the Kerameikos, where the plemochoai were sometimes placed in graves.[167] This similarity gives the deposits at the Eleusinion a chthonic character, connecting their burial to the deities of the Underworld.

In close proximity to the Ploutonion, a deposit of plemochoai was excavated and dated to the fourth century (fig.3.25). The excavator describes the fill as tightly packed and evidently buried with some care (fig.3.26). One vessel, a small plemochoe, measured only 7.5cms in diameter. In Pollitt's analysis of kernoi – a type of plemochoe with attached oil cups, later differentiated from plemochoe - he describes this deposit in these terms; "the patient, deliberate burial of unbroken kernoi which had accumulated in the sanctuary".[168] This is an example of the type of clear up in sanctuaries that occurred on a regular basis. When the dedicant left behind an offering, it belonged to the god, and had to be treated with respect. This issue is returned to shortly, here discussion confronts the non-use or symbolic use of the plemochoe once it had fulfilled a practical function in libation. The plemochoai here became gifts.

A second deposit, in the area of the Stoa of the Eleusinion, offered a very different discovery for the excavator.[169] The fourth-century deposit contained, in addition to plemochoai, twenty vessels. The vessels were fragmentary when deposited, suggesting either a messy clear up of a sanctuary, or the result of a different ritual practice. Two miniature plemochoai were

[163] P 23221, see example also had traces of paint on its surface, see Pollitt (1978) 221.
[164] P 12997, see Pollitt (1978) 219.
[165] Miles (1998) 97.
[166] Miles (1998) 97-98.
[167] For a bibliography, see Miles (1998) 99, ft. 16.
[168] Pollitt (1978) 225.
[169] T 22:2, see Pollitt (1978) 213.

discovered here, one measuring only 2.7cms in diameter.[170]

The relational context of the Eleusinion had a dramatic effect upon both the function and functionality of the plemochoe. First, the plemochoe was used to make libation as an act of worship. But second, this act of worship came to be embodied within the form of the vessel itself. This transformed the plemochoe from a practical vessel, with an intended function, into a votive offering which made a connection between the dedicant and the divine. We return to this blurring between function and votive offering, but here it becomes apparent that a division between the practical uses of a vessel during ritual practice is not radically distinct from its use as a votive offering.

The objective of each festival discussed here was experience, and each provided a different experience. This was determined by the characteristics of the ritual practice, unique to each festival. Therefore, the interaction and experience of the vessel connected to the festival, had an equally varied role. We have explored four different expressions of this, progressing from function to functionality. The most notable amongst these is the blurring of use and offering. The vase performs a function, as a libation vessel for instance, but this can also result in a symbolism which transforms the vase into a gift fit for the gods. In the following section focus is upon this transformation, informed by both context and practical function.

Vessels as Votive Offerings

Offerings to supernatural beings come in a variety of forms, and represent a variety of ritual communication. For instance, offerings of dance, songs and theatrical performance, as well as incense and smoke, can be sent up to the gods.[171] The object left behind in a sacred space for a god is another form of offering, but with permanence.[172] The meaning or impetus behind such offerings is the opening of a communication between man and god. When the object is offered, and therefore consecrated or sacralised, it comes to embody the divinity or essence of the god. Even to the extent that the object can be perceived as the deity.[173] This was referred to at the

[170] P 12420, 6.3cm diameter and P 12422, 2.7cm diameter.
[171] Bell (2009) 111.
[172] In contrast to the immediacy but destructiveness of sacrifice.
[173] Bell (2009) 113,

beginning of the chapter as inherently linked to our concept of functionality. The vase as an offering is ritually transformed, and becomes as divine as the god to which it is being offered. When the vase is consecrated it belongs to the god for all time.

The object was consecrated through ritual practice. This process was subject to votive practice, in which the worshipper made the offering as a gift with a request of aid, a thanks-giving, or the fulfilment of a previous promise to the god. [174] A vow followed and then the 'setting up', *anatithenai,* of the offering concluded the practice. The offering, both "perceptible and tangible" to the god, to the worshipper and to those that came after, it embodied the vow as well as the divine presence.[175] It was made to be seen. Some offerings, vases and statues for example, were even capable of speech through a dedicatory inscription. A bronze statue of a charioteer from Delphi declares itself an offering, and recalls the glory of the dedicator, who won a chariot race.[176] Votive statues from Athens leave the names of two hundred dedicants, which represents a cross section of aristocrats, craftsmen and labourers.[177]

Evidently, this bronze charioteer stood at the top end market of votive offerings. Wealth and status was a determining factor to the type of offering left behind. Small personal offerings of bronze and terracotta animals were most popular in the early periods represented in great number in votive deposits excavated at Olympia.[178] Pottery, votive shields, terracotta plaques and small terracotta disks were also characteristic of the votive practice. Terracotta plaques were the cheapest votive offering available, measuring 3.6cms by 4.1cms. The rectangle had a hole at the top for hanging from the sanctuary walls and trees. The *pinakes* were of the same type, made in wood, but only a few have survived.[179] Perhaps the most famous votive offerings from the other end of the scale are the marble kourai from the sixth century. Many examples have been excavated in Athens, but none have been found *in situ* on the Acropolis, leaving the identity of the deity they were dedicated to unknown. Offerings were also made by the state and these tended to be on a much grander scale. For instance, an inscription from a cult of an

[174] Osborne (2004) 2.
[175] Van Straten (2000) 69.
[176] Whitley (forthcoming) 8, for additional discussion of victory and votive declaration at sanctuaries, see Whitley (2012).
[177] Keesling (2008) 12, 63ff.
[178] Cult activity at Olympia began at the end of the tenth century, many offerings of bronze, iron, lead and gold have been excavated, see Morgan (1993) 20-27 for an overview.
[179] For discussion of these objects see Van Straten (2000) 194-197.

anonymous hero states that in 328/7 B.C, the *Boulē* made a dedication of ten silver cups.[180] These offerings were chosen to match the small scale of the shrine and took the form of conventional offerings. However, the material and the quality were far beyond the capacity of an individual dedicant.

Scholars have noted a change in small scale votive offerings dedicated in Classical sanctuaries. So-called 'raw' offerings – small, previously owned objects, unrelated by function to the sanctuary – were replaced with objects specifically produced as dedications – 'converted' offerings.[181] The function and form of the offering was now completely determined by the votive practice, rather than the offering adapting to it. These 'raw' offerings, figurines and utensils, are not recorded by Pausanias during his visits to temples in the second century A.D. The temple of a sanctuary complex functioned as the house of the statue of the god, and the many dedications left behind by worshippers were deposited at the shrine. Temples became overcrowded, to the extent that offerings could obscure a view of the god. Those in charge were forced to carry out periodical clear-ups.[182] Pausanias gives a powerful impression of this overcrowding during his description of the Temple of Hera at Olympia. He takes much time to list the statues and artists before him.[183] Pausanias makes no reference to small scale dedications. It is possible that they had all been cleared away and buried in votive deposits, or that they were of no interest to him. To tackle this problem rules and regulations were enforced by the administration of the temples. Inscriptions survive requesting that dedicants not leave votive offerings in walk ways, or attached to any structure of the building.[184] It seems likely that permission from the priest was required to leave offerings in later times.[185] From the Classical period onwards, converted offerings, purpose made, such as statues dedicated by the wealthy and the state, dominated the sacred space.

Figurative representations of sanctuaries, temples and shrines occur on vases throughout the Archaic and Classical period. However, the iconography of these vases does not reflect the crowded chaos which was the reality of many sacred spaces. Portrayals of sacrifice are depicted within the same sacred space as used for the leaving behind of votive offerings,

[180] Inscription I 7475, see Rotroff (1978) for discussion.
[181] Snodgrass (1990) 292.
[182] For an example of such a clear up, see the Sacred Repository discussed below.
[183] Paus. 5.17.1-20.
[184] LSS 107, LSS 123, translation Van Straten (2000) 213-214
[185] Van Straten (2000) 214.

and yet hardly any offerings are represented. In Van Straten's study of this topic, he states that representations of cult practice are '"relatively monotonous". Primarily, focus is placed upon "constant elements of ritual", rather than aspects of variety and difference.[186] Fragments of a red-figure bell-krater, now in London, dated to 450-425 B.C, show Herakles sacrificing to Chryse in a sanctuary (fig.3.27).[187] A flaming rustic altar is at the centre of the scene, used to heat the meat offered by Herakles and the youth. Alongside the youth is an Archaic statue of Chryse on a column, the cult statue of the sanctuary. A tree stands between Herakles and the altar, and from its branches hang three pinakes, the terracotta or wooden painted plaques dedicated by worshippers. This mythical scene refers to past cultic practice, which consisted of simple and rustic sanctuaries.[188] A red-figure bell-krater, now in Kiel, dated to 425-400 B.C, depicts a slightly later rendering of a shrine by the Nikias Painter (3.28).[189] To the right is the cult statue of a Herm contained within the temple. Three youths gather around a flaming altar offering meat, libation and sprigs. The youths are naked, save one who is partly covered. The use of nakedness in both the London and Kiel kraters is complex. The naked youth demonstrates sexual power, a meaning which increased during the fifth century. But the naked youth also represented an aristocratic ideal.[190] Youths wore nudity as a costume here, as a fashion, representing the charm, and athleticism of youth.[191] The significance of nudity adds to the focus in this image upon past ideals and traditions, conservatism and constancy of cult practice iconography. Both scenes refer to something of the past, something rustic and simple. Regional variations and contemporary developments are not translated into images. This leads us to question the motivation behind such imagery. Were they intended to act as votive offerings? Or did their images have little bearing upon their destination once out of the commercial market? Several examples of fragmentary vessels from the Agora depict flaming altars and sacrifice.[192] The intensity of the flames coming off the altars gives the impression of a moving image. The sacrifice has not yet happened, but the flames reflect the urgency of the god to receive the offering.

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[186] Van Straten (1995) 3-5.
[187] British Museum E494.
[188] For further interpretation of this scene, see Van Straten (1995) V365 and (2000) 206.
[189] Kiel B 54.
[190] On nakedness see Stewart (1997) and Osborne (1998).
[191] Bonfante (1989) 550-551.
[192] Select black-figure examples from the Agora, see Moore et al (1986) P 15954 woman at altar, P 23132 Hermes, P 9279 male torso. Red-figure, see Moore (1997) P 10542 victory sacrifice, P 8444 Dionysus, P 23801 Hermes.

Returning to the role of votive offerings, the vase was transformed from a commercial object to a personification of votive practice from the Geometric period onwards, and left behind by worshippers at shrines and sanctuaries. On the Acropolis alone, thousands of vases were left as votive offerings from the eighth to fourth century.[193] Before the production of vessels 'converted' or designed as votives, worshippers left behind worn vases already used in the household. The quality of these offerings varied greatly depending on the wealth of the dedicant.[194] Each vase left as a votive offering, regardless of quality, expressed the commitment of the dedicant.[195] From 480 B.C, such raw offerings were replaced by vases specifically designed for the cult context, such as white-ground lekythoi.[196] The miniature and small-scale vessels thrown into the pyres discussed in Chapter One provide another example, as each item was produced with the intention of use within the ritually defined context. Potter's themselves made dedications in thanks for their success. A late Archaic relief, dedicated on the Acropolis, depicts a potter, holding two cups which represent his trade (fig. 3.29).[197] Not only does this suggest the wealth this potter accumulated during his lifetime, it also suggests a surprising social status. Aristocrats, as well as some craftsmen and labourers, were able to make large scale dedications.[198]

When discussing the excavations of vases from sanctuaries and shrines, Boardman states; “We have no right to treat pottery from a sanctuary in the same spirit as that from a grave or from a house”.[199] For the remainder of this chapter focus is maintained upon this issue by examining the meaning and significance of the vase as a votive offering, excavated from a sacred space. We consider a Sacred Repository by the Panathenaic Way and the Crossroad Enclosure in the Agora, as well as the Shrine of Nymphe on the slopes of the Acropolis. These examples were chosen due to their difference from one another, as well as their individually unique nature. The Sacred Repository provides an instance of the votive clear-ups referred to earlier. The Crossroad Enclosure is an example of a naturally occurring sacred space, centred

[193] Boardman (2001) 294-295.
[194] Sparkes (1996) 80 and Boardman (2001) 18.
[195] For the vase as a votive offering, see Sparkes (1996) especially 86 and 156-7, Boardman (2001) 17, 227ff and 294-5.
[196] Keesling (2008) 3-11.
[197] Keeling (2008) 69-75; other dedications see Nearchos (DAA no.197), Euphronios (DAA no.225), Peikon (DAA no.44), Mnesiades and Andokides (DAA no.178). For the significance of these dedications, see Vickers and Gill (1994) and A.E Rabitschek various works.
[198] Keesling (2008) 63-71.
[199] Boardman (2001) 294.

on a large outpouring of limestone. The Shrine of Nymphe is an example of divinity worship relevant to recently married women. In each case effort is made to contextualise the sacred spaces within the religious dynamics of the *polis*, but emphasis is predominantly upon the role and meaning of the vase as an offering. This represents the last stage of the functionality of the vase, in which the function of the vase is transformed far beyond any concept of intentionality. Discuss begins with a brief overview of the sacred geography of Athens, beyond the rock of the Acropolis.

Religious Geography

The archaeology of Athens offers a detailed picture of sacred space and cultic practices, much more so than figurative representations and contemporary sources.[200] These spaces stretched beyond the Acropolis, and were embedded in every part of the city. The Agora, for instance, was full of shrines.[201] "There were gods everywhere".[202] Tucked between houses and shops there were shrines comprising of perhaps a small temple or a simple *temenos*, with an altar for sacrifice and modest dedications.[203] The majority of which would be hero shrines. Such shrines have been excavated, but identification of the hero worshipped is often unknown.[204] One hero shrine, dedicated to Amynos, a healing hero, constituted of a porch with two marble columns. Worshippers would dedicate anatomical votives, representing the part of the body needing healing.[205]

Although the Acropolis was the religious focal point of the city, it is important to appreciate that every part of the city had a religious association. Much like the ideology of religion which affected all elements of the identity of the *polis*, the geography of the city was determined by sacred space. So-called 'minor' shrines, Herms and symbols of Apollo Agyieus placed outside doors, were essential to the religious identity of the *polis*.[206] Not all of these sacred areas were maintained and sponsored by the state; some were funded by particular

[200] For references to the religiosity of Athens, see Pindar frag. 76 and Paus. 1.7.1; 24.3. For discussion see Wycherley (1978) 175ff.
[201] See Wycherley (1970) and (1978) 175ff.
[202] Wycherley (1970) 283 and (1978) 176.
[203] Wycherley (1978) 175-202 for discussion of small scale shrines.
[204] Hero-cults, see Lalonde (1968) and (1980), Antonaccio (1993) and (1995).
[205] For anatomical dedications, see Van Straten (1981) 65-151.
[206] Parker (2005) 18, 20, 414n., 105

families and religious clubs.[207] Some shrines were located on the slopes of the Acropolis, on the cliffs and within the caves. For example, on the north side is the Shrine of Aphrodite and Eros.[208] In caves on the northwest side of the Acropolis, dedications to Apollo "under the Long Rocks" have been discovered, suggesting a shrine.[209] Of wider fame, the cave dedicated to Pan was in this area, identified by votive niches in the walls.[210] Each of the examples discussed below can be categorised as minor shrines, differentiated by particular ritual practices. Earlier in this chapter several larger scale or prominent sacred spaces, such as the Asklepieion, the Eleusinion and the Propylaia have been examined. Here, we turn to otherwise unknown deities and shrines, which were still essential to the religious character of Athens. This emphasis on minor cults and shrines is influenced by the focus of this study. The majority of dedications left behind were small scale and personal, most often pottery and other small items. These small sacred spaces enable us to engage with the experience of the vase as a votive offering.

A Sacred Repository alongside the Panathenaic Way

The Mycenaean chamber tomb (fig.3.1) which contained several fragments of much later pottery, suggests a continued reverence and piety towards the dead. The Sacred Repository by the Panathenaic Way was excavated in 1957 in the small vicinity between the Altar of Ares (fig.3.30). This Repository is further evidence of minor cults in Athens, and care taken by later generations towards the long dead. Thompson and Wycherley describe this relationship between the dead and the living as "dim and confused", with concepts of time and identity of the deceased unknown.[211] Unlike the Mycenaean chamber tomb, the Repository is not a burial, but rather a collection of objects suggesting ritual practice. However, its vicinity amongst several Mycenaean graves has led archaeologists to an interpretation based upon hero-cult.[212]

Hero-cults and tomb-cults, as was stated above, were popular and began in Attica in the

[207] For an example of such a society, the *orgeones*, see Parker (1996) 109ff and Kearns (2010) 160 for worshipper organisations. See '*Syssitia* and Dining Clubs', Chapter Two.
[208] For details on the shrine, see Broneer (1932) 31-55 and (1933) 329-349 and Travlos (1980) 228ff.
[209] For a brief overview, see Wycherley (1978) 177 and Travlos (1980) 91.
[210] Select bibliography, Borgeaud (1988) and Boardman (1997).
[211] Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 119.
[212] Thompson (1958) 148-153, Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 119-121, Lalonde (1980) 97 and Camp (2010) 112-113.

Late Geometric period. The practice went into decline after 550 B.C.[213] Although partially similar, these two cults had a different focus. Hero-cults focused upon the veneration of an individual, and involved the dedication of offerings and cult practice. Whereas tomb-cult lacked the focus upon an individual, and the tomb was the focal point.[214] Due to the high concentration of burials in the Agora, there are several instances of tomb-cult. In Antonaccio's discussion of the connection between the living and the dead, an interpretation of kinship instead of hero or votive cult is put forward. The veneration of long dead was used to support the reputation of families and the aristocracy. In such circumstances, the dead became monuments for the living.[215]

Returning to the Sacred Repository, excavators discovered a reused well head, surrounded by reused poros stone. This pit was then sealed by a stopper, made from a reused Doric capital, and then secured by iron clamps. Although the material was reused, the structure was constructed with care. The Repository was discovered in a disturbed state, at some point in antiquity, perhaps in the fourth century, the stopper was forced off with some violence, and the contents spread around the opening. As a result, a full inventory of the pit's contents cannot be made. The cylindrical chamber was constructed in the fifth century, when the votive material was cleared up, and the pit was sealed. Once sealed, the pit was covered in earth and the cult was discontinued.

The contents of the Repository point to a long life for the cult. The earliest objects date to the seventh century, and a few fragments from the mid fourth century. A long gap is marked from the early fifth century to the mid fourth century. The objects inside correspond to offerings left at other cults in Athens and elsewhere.[216] Many of the objects have not been catalogued and are too fragmentary, such as several black-figure and black-glazed vases, and fourth-century black-glazed and stamped ware. The evidence available suggests a variety of offerings, left behind by worshippers, for example; a bronze shield, bronze lug from a vase, terracotta figurines, terracotta shield and pinax, Middle Corinthian cup, and fragments of red-figure vases, notably a volute krater (fig.3.31).[217] The fragments of the volute krater depict a chariot scene, with the head and shoulders of a youth, and dated to 490-480 B.C. This iconography correlates

[213] For evidence of fifth and fourth century cults to anonymous dead, see Lalonda (1968) 123-133 and Lalonda (1980) 97-105.
[214] Whitley (1994a) 213.
[215] Antonaccio (1993) 46-70.
[216] See Burr (1933) 543-640, for a Proto-Attic deposit.
[217] P 25957. For a catalogue of finds, see Thompson (1958) 150-152.

with the fragments of terracotta figurine charioteers and horses. The material suggests this was an established hero-cult. The votive ceremony at this cult included sacrifice. Charred bones of goats and sheep fill the Repository, and slip over the sides due to the disturbance in the fourth century.

Worship at this hero-cult had two components; animal sacrifice and votive offering. Both ritualised acts would be followed by a vow, thanksgiving or request. Concentrating upon the vase as a votive offering here, in its different forms, this object formed a relationship between the dedicant and the hero by memorialising the ritual act. The vase transformed through ritual practice, into something altogether more sacred. Turning to the volute krater, the function of this vessel had several layers; first, its physicality engaged with and represented the votive process, and second, the imagery on its surface epitomized the essence of the hero-cult. The reference to charioteering symbolised warfare. The hero had many victories. The volute krater expresses the functionality of the vessel as a votive offering, in both a physical and figurative way. The iconography functioned from a contextualised perspective. It did not need to function practically; the form of the krater itself was highly significant. Its function was its presence.

Shrine of Nymphe and Caves of the Nymphs

Our second site is a small shrine, categorised by Wycherley as one of the many minor shrines dotted around Athens.[218] Identified as the Shrine of Nymphe by a boundary stone and a number of inscribed pots, on the southwest slope of the Acropolis in Athens, this simple structure occupied a space in a busy domestic area.[219] The structure does not survive complete as much has been destroyed by later buildings (fig.3.32). However, it appears to have been an open air structure containing an altar dated to the second quarter of the fifth century. There is further evidence to suggest that the altar was built upon an earlier scared spot, which along with the offerings, date activity at the Shrine to the mid-seventh to third century B.C. No extant literature references identifies the Shrine as it had no part in the mainstream of Athenian religion.[220]

[218] Wycherley (1970) 293 and (1978) 193.
[219] For an image of the boundary stone, see Travlos (1980) figure 465.
[220] Limited references to the Shrine at Nymphe, Wycherley (1970) 292, Travlos (1980) 361, Larson (2001) 111-112. I have been unable to find C. Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou *Iero tis Numphis. Melanomorfes Loutrophoroi* (Athens, 1997).

Nymphe, meaning 'bride', is an otherwise unknown deity, embedded in the ritual practice of marriage rites. The Shrine met the personal needs of the people, and was outside the framework of civic religion.[221] Her role as a nuptial deity is strongly indicated by the nature of the dedications left in her name. Thousands of fragments from aryballoi, lekythoi, cups, plates, lamps, plaques have been excavated, as well as terracotta figures and masks. The majority are fragments as well as complete loutrophoroi; a vessel discussed earlier in this chapter. The loutrophoros provided the water for the bridal bath the night before her wedding. The vessel was presented to the bride as a gift, which could then be offered along with a vow of thanks, to the deity of marriage. The dedications of loutrophoroi at the Shrine of Nymphe were an essential part of this ritual process, which ended with the bride using the vessel to symbolise herself and her marriage. In exchange for this gift, the bride would ask for a healthy and happy life as a wife and mother.

Detailed photographs of this material are currently unavailable and the majority are as yet unpublished.[222] However, this photograph illustrates a selection of the loutrophoroi and other vases excavated from the Shrine, and mainly in black-figure (fig.3.33). A selection of the material is displayed in cases lining the walls when the visitor enters the new Acropolis Museum.[223] The loutrophoroi are typically decorated with processions of women and wedding scenes. However, there are examples of loutrophoroi-amphorae intended for the groom's pre-nuptial bath, which have only two handles, rather than three on the loutrophoroi-hydria. One black-figure loutrophoros depicts the Judgement of Paris, with the goddesses as three draped figures with gestures extending towards Paris.[224] A second loutrophoros of a much larger size also renders the Judgement of Paris.[225] Red-figure examples tend to focus upon the wedding procession, with women carrying torches and loutrophoroi. When the bride is depicted on her wedding day, she appears completely veiled in several examples. Mythological wedding scenes are represented on two full size loutrophoroi, measuring up to 95cms in height. Small-size votives were also dedicated at the Shrine, depicting Boreas in pursuit of his rape victim Oreithyia, and wedding processions. Miniature votive offerings of different shapes as well as

[221] Parker (2005) 442.
[222] My application to photograph and study the material for the shrine of Nymphe was unsuccessful.
[223] For a catalogue description, see Brouskari (1974) 94ff.
[224] This number refers to the Acropolis museum display numbers: Vase 27.
[225] Vase 29.

loutrophoroi follow the conventional iconography found within this context. Miniature amphorae, oinochoai nuptial lebetes, pyxides and cups were left behind as offerings for Nymphe. These miniatures act as examples of converted votive offerings, when the vessel is specifically designed for the votive context. However, in this case, the iconography of these offerings suggests that such offerings were even more specifically designed for this context. Although the majority of offerings suggest female dedicants, the loutrophoroi-amphorae, and the wide variety of miniature vessels complicates a gender-binary conclusion.

The character of these votive offerings left at the Shrine of Nymphe, the wedding loutrophoroi in particular, corresponds to dedications in the caves of Pan and the Nymphs. These two are frequently worshipped together. Worship of nymphs was traditionally rural and simplistic. Nymphs were associated with the landscapes and natural features, and cults were often found by water sources and springs, mountains, and most commonly, caves. They are generally identified with human concerns, such as fertility, childbirth and childcare, transforming the nymph into a sexual being with a human identity. Devotees to the nymphs were commonly herdsmen and rustics, who visited natural features sacred to the nymphs to dedicate small perishable offerings, such as flowers and hand crafted figurines.

In Athens, the earliest known sites for worship of nymphs' are water sources; Empedo, later known as Klepsydra, Kallirhoë, and the spring by the Asklepieion.[226] At the northwest side of the Acropolis base a spring house known as Klepsydra was constructed in 470-460 B.C which focused on a spring running within the cave. This spring house preserved the natural rock, whilst incorporating a paved area and a draw basin to collect water. A boundary stone found in the area suggests it was once a sacred nymphaion.[227] The area is a complex of four small caves, all representing a sacred space. Evidence of votive offering marks the rock with many niches. The Kallirhoë was a spring which provided water for the bride's nuptial bath. The location of this spring is debatable.[228] The Hill of the Nymphs, north of the Pynx, is also associated with the nymphs, but the location of worship is currently unknown. The caves in the city are archaeologically bare. Cuttings in the rock are empty when once they contained votive offerings and votive reliefs. Although interest in the worship of Pan and the nymphs' spread

[226] For a brief description, see Travlos (1980) 138.
[227] For a brief description, see Travlos (1980) 323 and Larson (2001) 126. See Larson (2001) for a very detailed survey of the sites of nymph worship and their characteristics.
[228] Travlos (1980) 204.

beyond the rustics in the fifth century, the majority of excavated votive material was of a “poor quality”, the most common offering being ceramics of cheap materials.[229] To offer a comparison with the offerings from the Shrine of Nymphe, and to suggest the possible contents of caves in Athens, discussion turns to caves in Attica.

The caves dedicated to the nymphs' were spread throughout mainland Greece. In Attica, six rural caves have been identified, plus additional urban ones. Although there is a problem with archaeological survival of these rustic votive offerings, the famous cave at Vari, sacred to the nymphs' and Pan, had a large number of votive offerings, dating between 500 B.C and 150 AD (fig.3.34). This photograph shows the steps inside the cave, a seated figure and the Shrine of Pan. The cave itself has two main rooms; room one contains the cult statue and niches for votive offerings. The second room held votive offering. This room contained deposits of miniature loutrophoroi, offered by brides. A further four hundred fragments were recovered from various types of vessels; aryballoi, lekythoi, cups, small flat bowls, pyxides and large kraters, inscribed by the dedicant.[230] Other Attic caves contained similar material, for example, the Cave of Phyle on Mount Parnes contains early offerings of black-figure Attic vases of different shapes, such as lekythoi, kraters and loutrophoroi. The Daphni Cave on the Sacred Way to Eleusis contained loutrophoroi, red-figure and black-figure, and lekythoi, and plates. In a cave near Eleusis, hundreds of fifth-century votives have been excavated; miniature vessels such as loutrophoroi and lekythoi, and full size red-figure loutrophoroi.[231] Outside Attica, caves in Boiotia and Euboia, on the Aegean Islands, the Caruso Cave, and the Cave at Kafizin (Cyprus) as well as other caves in Greece, contained substantial evidence of ceramic votive material, particularly votive miniatures.

In general the votive materials dedicated at these sites were miniature and disposable. The most common type of votive offering, “inexpensive pottery”, reflected the rustic nature of the shrine. We might suppose that regardless of the availability of disposable wealth, more elaborate offerings, such as votive statues were not appropriate here. The character of the shrines had a distinct impact upon the convention of votive offerings. This impact is expressed through the consistent dedication of miniatures. In Larson's analysis of these vessels she refers

[229] Larson (2001) 228.
[230] For information regarding the cave at Vari and Attic caves, see Larson (2001) 242ff.
[231] See Larson (2001) 226-270 for information about these caves.

to them as “nonfunctional”.[232] Larson suggests that they were probably cheaper than full-size vessels. The miniatures were “nonfunctional” when compared to their full-size counterparts. However, these miniatures were produced specifically for the votive context as they were indicative of function. In other words, the function of the miniatures was “nonfunctional”, whilst at the same time, they functioned to symbolise and represent vases of full size. The function of the miniature was symbolic. Its dedication and presence meant something. It was essential that the miniature retained the form and appearance of the full-size vessel in order for it to convey the significance of its accumulated meaning, in this case, the importance of the loutrophoros to wedding rituals. It was not necessary for the vessel to function in the same way. The performance and experience of miniature votives within this context was based upon recognition and an understanding of the vessels functionality. And finally, the vessels left behind as votive offerings in these sites show the combination of the components of functionality; surface, size and shape, implying function.

The Crossroads Enclosure

Our final site is the Crossroads Enclosure in the northwest corner of the Agora, on the intersection of the Panathenaic Way and the Western Street (fig.3.35).[233] Inaugurated as a sacred spot in the years after 430 B.C, the shrine was used until the end of the fourth century. The shrine fell out of use in the Hellenistic period. The structure of the shrine is of a simple type, encompassing a small square enclosure measuring 2.75ms by 2.94ms, surrounding a sacred spot. The focal point of the shrine is naturally occurring outcropping of bedrock, which was used by worshippers as a natural altar stone. The sacred stone was left untouched as the street level continued to rise above this nature outcropping.

Caves, springs and other natural forms attracted ritual practices in the ancient world.[234] The caves of Pan and the nymphs' had a particular relevance for worshippers. The sacred stone functioned in the same way, presenting an opportunity for simple and rustic worship in the city. Its location at the crossroads of the Panathenaic Way contributed to its importance. Crossroads,

[232] Larson (2001) 230, see Larson also for details about findings.
[233] For details of the excavation, see Shear (1973a) 360-369 and Shear (1973) 125-134. For a useful summary, see Camp (2010) 84-85.
[234] For an example of pots and natural features, see A. Steiner, ‘Oil and Water: Pottery and Cult at the Sacred Spring,’ *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 386-408.

or *tridoi,* were considered dangerous places – the host of ghosts. During the fifth century, the goddess of magic and witchcraft, Hekate, became closely associated with doorways and crossroads. Altars and cult statues of trimorphic Hekate stood outside homes, as well as at crossroads.[235] To mark the rising of the new moon, the 'suppers of Hekate' were served at the crossroads, consisting of dog-meat amongst other foodstuffs.[236] Although this natural outcropping of rock was not worshipped as a shrine of Hekate, its function as protective may have been comparable.

When the Enclosure was excavated a mass of broken pottery and other objects covered the surface of the sacred stone. Amongst the pottery were lamps, loomweights, knuckle bones and jewellery. Judging by the dates of this material, in the later part of the fifth century it became convention for dedicants to throw their offerings into the Enclosure and leave them where they lay. This is reminiscent of the apparent intentional breaking of miniature vessels in sacred pyres, discussed in Chapter One. Whether the aim of the dedicant was to break the pot on the rock, or leave it alongside the outcrop is uncertain. However, the likelihood would be that the pot would shatter.[237] If the pot did not break, the prayer would not work. The performance of throwing and smashing an offering on the sacred rock had the opposite effect, in some respects, of leaving behind an offering at the sanctuary. The dedicant at other shrines intended the object to be seen by others, as a token of their vow and belief. In the case of the Enclosure, the action of making contact with the sacred rock through the pot was more significant. The offering itself almost disappeared. In Bell's extensive study of ritual she comments upon the destruction of offerings as a reflection of the human-divine interaction; "total destruction of the offering appears to seal a contractual relationship".[238] Such total destruction is most noticeable in sacrifice, when the body of the animal is burnt and consumed. In the case of the ritual practice at the Crossroads Enclosure, the vessels as votive offering more closely resembled an animal sacrifice than it did usual votive practice.

The fifth-century fill of the Enclosure revealed masses of broken pottery. Generally speaking, the character of this material is miniature, but of surprisingly high quality. The most abundant is black-glazed vessels, and some with fine stamped decoration. Miniatures include

[235] Apollodorus, *FGrH* 224 F 110.
[236] Aristophanes *Plut.* 594ff.
[237] See Shear (1973) 128 for his take on this ritual process.
[238] Bell (2009) 112.

squat lekythoi and black-glazed *amphoriskoi*. Leykthoi are in the majority. Assorted vessels for drinking and pouring, such as stemless cups, one-handlers, skyphoi and ribbed mugs, were also popular offerings. A further indication of the ritual practice is the evidence of sacrifice. From the distribution of the material it seems likely that the dedications made in the fourth century were gathered up and buried in ritual deposits. A public well in the vicinity had a filling suggesting a connection with the Enclosure.[239] The dedicated vessels are of a similar type, but the well contained a far larger number of miniature votives; twenty four plain and glazed cups and several black-glazed *amphoriskoi*. The size of these miniature cups varies from 2.2cms to 4.3cms in height. Two examples from the Enclosure well illustrate the different nature of the vessels offered. From the votive deposit at the Enclosure, excavations brought to light a red-figure stemless cup, depicting a scene of sacrifice (fig.3.36).[240] As well as being considered one of the best quality pieces dedicated at the Enclosure, the combination of the iconography and its dedication at the Enclosure demonstrates its ritualised nature. The scene shows a naked youth, identified as Apollo with a lyre, leaning towards an altar, holding a phiale as though making ready for libation. Judging by the quantity of pouring vessels, libations were poured on the limestone. When dedicating this cup, the dedicant engaged in a reflective experience, offering an object which depicted activity at the Enclosure. The functionality of this votive offering worked both figuratively, as well as physically. The cup symbolised the vow made, and the image reflected ritual practice. The surface of the vase functioned alongside the physicality of the vase. From the well associated with the Enclosure came twenty-four examples of plain and glazed miniature cups. Three such examples are published by Shear (fig.3.37).[241] These three plain examples measure between 2.2cms in height and 3.7cms in diameter, a difference of over 10cms when compared to the stemless cup.[242] It almost goes without saying that these miniatures were not able to fulfil any direct function suggested by their shape. However, this is not to say they had no function. Their function was indicative of wider practice, symbolic, not practical. The miniatures represented the vow made by the worshipper, and they came to belong to the Enclosure.

Due to the Enclosure's short life-span and the lack of other evidence to identify the deity

[239] Reference J 5:1.
[240] For discussion, see Shear (1973a) 129, P 29372.
[241] Shear (1973) 131, P 28801, P 28886 and P 28800.
[242] P 29372, 2.9cm height to rim, 16.3cm diameter of rim and 3.5cm diameter of foot.

worshipped here, it can be presumed this was not a major cult. By drawing comparisons with offerings left in funeral deposits, and considering its location at the crossroads, the Enclosure has a chthonic character, stemming from a natural focal point.[243] The type of ritual practice engaged in here, which returns the clay of the vessels back to the earth, reflects this character. The function of the votive offering here is unique in acting more like a sacrifice than any other example discussed. The vessel was produced specifically for the cultic market, and then intentionally destroyed during worship.

The three sites discussed here were chosen to convey the meaning of the vessel as a votive offering. Each case resides outside state funded religious practice. This outsider position in part motivated their use. Small scale and personal worship allows for much more small scale and personal votive offerings, such as vases and miniatures, unlike the grand votive statues of the Acropolis. Our discussion has provided three different examples of 'minor' sacred space; the Sacred Repository is evidence of the connection between the dead and the living, the Shrine of Nymphe gives a strong female voice to votive practice, and demonstrates the encounter between belief and rites of passage, and finally, the Crossroads Enclosure reminds us of the often alien and unique quality of small scale Athenian religion. There is a strong similarity between the offerings left at the Crossroads and at the Shrine of Nymphe, particularly the votive miniatures. The widespread use of miniatures here, and in the pyres found in the domestic sphere, emphasises the need for symbolism. The Repository is characterised by hero-cult, but the connection between iconography and other items in the deposit stress the way in which images work alongside function, and how an image can be determined by context.

Concluding Section One: The World of the Vase

The essence of this chapter is communication; communication between the vase and society, between society and the divine, between the divine and the vase. Like an animated being, the vase took part in this communication as an animated object. The function of the vase within the ritualised context caused an event, and facilitated experience. We began with dining; on the

[243] Shear (1973a) 365, footnote 7.

surface an event which drew only upon the function or practical use of the vase. The form of the vase determined the method of food production, but it also determined the perception and experience of dining. Moving on to ritual practice, the form of particular vessels made them suitable as performers of rituals, however, the form and surface of the vase came to epitomise domestic and *polis*-wide religious experiences. The boundaries between function and functionality became blurred. A vessel such as the plemochoe functioned as a provider for libations, but it could also become an offering itself. The two are interchangeable and interconnected. Our final component of ritual functionality – the votive offering – drew upon the symbolised and embedded meaning of the vessel when left behind for the god, and to become the god. However, even when left as a purely symbolic object, the traces of its functional self are essential to its being there. The activation of functionality requires function. These events took place within ritualised contexts, or contexts ritualised by the events. The ritualised context determined the experience of ritual, and the vase was dependent upon the context for its ritual activation.

The progression towards functionality has been expanded over the three chapters within this Section, as well as independently within this chapter. We began by exploring the experience of the vase within the domestic context and other private or unofficial contexts. It became apparent that the meaning the vase accumulated as it circulated in society had an impact upon its performance within the domestic sphere. For example, the simple chytra used on a daily basis came to personify the household when placed inside a pyre. In other words, the particular meaning of the vase was context dependent. The functionality of the vase was expressed through size in this case, as miniatures were common components of the pyres. In Chapter Two, we explored the function of the vase in the public dining halls of Athens. The power and impact of the surface of the vessel was prominent here. Images connected the vase and the dining experience to worlds outside the immediate contexts. Image and surface accumulated meaning. Finally, through the ritualisation of the vase in this final chapter, we encountered the function of the vase, as informed by its form. The form of the vase supposes an intended function, but the reality of its use could end up being more symbolic than functional. At this point, we can draw together these three components of functionality – size, surface and function – and conclude that functionality was possible only when one or all of these

components were drawn upon beyond intentionality and predetermined function.

The method of approach underlying this first section, and this study as a whole, is to an extent anthropological, as outlined in the Introduction. Through these three contexts, separated into three chapters, we have explored what the performance and experience of the vase meant to society, and what impact society had upon the vase. Crucially, we have considered what the vase did, and what this doing meant. This meaning has been assessed only through the movement of the vase in society, rather than in isolation from it. In other words, our understanding of the vase has been contextually dependent.

We have achieved an increased distance from art-historical approaches to the vase, and succeeded in intertwining the physical essence of the vase, and its place in Athenian society. However, a component of the functionality of the vase needs further exploration – the surface. As we have discussed in detail in the Introduction, studies tend to focus upon the information the image on the vase can give regarding Athenian society. Images are used as illustrations of particular events and experiences. Our approach is radically different, and is in fact, the reverse. However, it has become increasingly apparent, particularly in Chapter Three, that the surface or image on the vase can be incorporated into the function of the vase. For example, the iconography of the loutrophoroi dedicated at the Shrine of Nymphe connected to the function of the vase as a receptacle for water for a bride's bath, and its place in nuptial rituals. We engaged with this ritualised iconography as an expression of an event, but we have not considered how an image came to function, alongside practical function, to construct a perception of self and wider society. Here, at this juncture between function and image, and image and society, we begin our second phase of exploration; the world on the vase.

THE WORLD ON THE VASE: CHAPTER FOUR

CONSTRUCTING LIVED EXPERIENCE:

MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY ON THE VASE

Figure 4.1: Red-figure pyxis with calyx-krater decoration, late fifth century B.C.

The social facts behind the vase - its production and circulation - informed the social relations that passed through it. The vase transformed into the social Other through a dependency upon relational context and people.[1] To a certain extent, the vase became a substitute for a human being in the social milieux. The social Other does not need to be another human being.[2] By provoking a response much like a person within social context or public spaces, the vase communicated, gained agency and accumulated meaning - functionality. Provocation and reaction have priority here over the aesthetic properties of the vase. In the chapters in Section One the vase was examined as an archaeological phenomenon; an object occurring in a variety

[1] The term social Other is used here in reference to a secondary identification used by the subject to explore their own identity as well as social conventions. For the use of Lacan and psychoanalysis in the visual arts, specifically film studies, see Mayne (1993), Allen (1995) 15ff, Zizek (2001).
[2] For an exploration of the object as a social Other, see Gell (1998) 17ff. For examples of this theory applied to ancient visual culture, see Whitley (2006), (forthcoming) and (2011). For a collection of essays dedicated to agency in ancient visual art, see Osborne and Tanner (2007), for vase painting in particular in this edition, see Osborne (2007a) 179-189.

of relational contexts in Athens. Once within these social situations, the experience and transformation of the vase drew upon function and accumulated functionality. In other words, the practical function of the vase, as well as its wider meaning, produces an interactive experience. It was concluded that the image, as distinct from the aesthetic properties of the vase, functioned alongside other components to activate this function/ality. The image constructed and questioned social values.

In Section Two of this study the image is further incorporated into the social fact of the vase through figurative interpretations of the relationship between vase and society. The foundations have already been laid by contextualising the vase in Athens, and engagement must be made with its interactive surface. Discussion here considers how the vase, as a social agent, was able to perpetuate constructions of lived experience, identity and desire. Our focus in this chapter is gender construction. The performance of gender through segregated collective experience depends upon a collective consciousness, which worked with socially constructed rules. We have already encountered the two collective activities considered in this chapter; the all-male symposium and preparations of the bride.[3] In Section One, discussion focused upon the archaeological impact of both collective activities, with particular emphasis upon the function/ality of a certain vessel; the loutrophoros. We revisit the significance of the loutrophoros as a signifier for feminine socialisation, and explore this alongside the krater as the embodiment of masculine sociability. The iconography covering the surface of both these vessels was based upon culturally determined ideals, used to reflect and construct gender identity.

Section Two has a different focus with an additional theoretical perspective. We continue to follow an anthropologically informed approach, which looks for reactions and provocations, but interpretation of imagery is advised by spectatorship theory. In order to understand how the vase reflected and constructed gender identity, it is necessary to understand the complexities of a culturally determined viewing experience. A viewer had to possess an awareness of the function/ality of the vase, specific to these collective activities, and have knowledge of the cultural code. Discussion begins here, with an assessment and exploration of spectatorship theory, which reinforces our interpretation of iconography in both this chapter and the one that follows.

[3] For the archaeology of symposia, see Chapter One. For an in-depth discussion visual culture of the wedding and cultic practice, see Chapter Three.

Vase-Syntax

Iconographic studies of figured vases have come to dominate contemporary scholarship in ancient Greek cultural studies.[4] Countless studies undertaken by scholars have attempted to view these images alongside written source material to further our understanding of Athenian culture.[5] This trend has been tempered by warnings that such images are not representative of daily life in Athens, but rather translations of reality into figurative social constructs.[6] This means that when the artist figuratively translates lived experience onto the surface of the vase, culturally determined codes of interpretation take the image one step away from the real.[7] There can be no direct depiction of reality as the artist is bound up with convention. Lissarrague makes this point well during a study of images of women driven by masculine dominance; "Athenian society was shaped by its male citizens, and the dominant ideology, the ideology that guided painters in their choices and defined their view in a system that left little room for individual initiative or what we would call inspiration, was chiefly masculine".[8]

To decode these iconographic constructs the ancient viewer would need knowledge of the visual language unique to Greek and Athenian culture which informed vase production.[9] Without cultural awareness, the images remain impenetrable to us as ill-informed viewers.[10] Sourvinou-Inwood has stressed the need to penetrate through our own perception filters in order to recognise the "process of signification" imbued in an iconography which has no fixed meaning.[11] Not only do we have to battle with our own cultural language when viewing a vase, we need to acknowledge the unconscious contribution of the artist which left behind varied and changeable meanings.[12] As modern viewers, it is necessary to guard against "immediate interpretation" of apparently straightforward images, based on our own culturally informed and

[4] This has come to replace more traditional studies of the artists, embodied in Beazley, and perpetuated by Robertson, see (1992).
[5] For example, see Oakley and Sinos (1993) for the wedding through imagery, Shapiro (1994) for the relationship between text and image.
[6] For example, Beard (1991) 20, Lissarrague (1994a) "images only confirm results arrived at by other means" 139, Carpenter (2007) 398-399.
[7] Lissarrague (1994a) 140-141.
[8] Lissarrague (1994a) 141.
[9] The export of Athenian pottery from Greece suggests that the language of Athenian iconography was universal, or at least met with the expectations of other, 'foreign' viewers. See Whitley (2004) 360, for the influence of the export market on democratic imagery, and Lynch (2009) 159-165 , for explicit erotic imagery and its motivation by the export market.
[10] Ferrari (2002) 4ff.
[11] Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 395ff.
[12] Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (1990) 209.

common sense response.[13] To go beyond this, an increased emphasis needs to be placed upon the role and experience of the ancient viewer, the successive contributions and conventions of artists, and the use of iconographic syntax and symbols to figuratively construct perceptions of Athenian society.[14]

Other mediums of visual art have long been at the centre of debates and theories of spectatorship and viewing experience. For example, the reaction of audiences at cinema houses has become a distinct branch of film studies, as outlined in the Introduction. Although two clearly distinct forms of visual art, the painted vase and the film are intended to provoke reactions in the viewer, which are influenced by social conditioning. For our purposes, approaches to spectatorship influenced by psychoanalytic theory is adopted and adapted, popular in currents studies of film. The main focus of debate amongst theorists is the opposing reactions of the psychic self and the social unconscious, both of which come into being when interpreting culturally determined images. Some theories propose the overall importance of the self, whilst others favour the social unconscious. Each factor requires further definition; the psychic self, and the response it provokes, is driven by our own memories of shocks or traumas which are then projected upon the image. This reaction is caused by identification with the image, engineered by our own private dreams or imagination. The social unconscious is a level of cognition entirely informed by living in a society. The response this produces is based upon societal conditioning of the familiar. Conventional visual language is read through filters circulated in wider society. Although apparently familiar, such a reaction is unlikely to be based upon the direct experience of the spectator, but rather something the spectator has absorbed over time due to societal conditioning. When talking of spectatorship in film, Aaron states; “The film’s pleasure is managed by social definitions of perversity. The spectator’s response after the fact is not always, indeed is rarely, in league with the spectator’s experience”.[15] In other words, due to the social unconscious a spectator’s response to an image draws more from the ideology that surrounds them, than their own experiences and emotions. However, the division between psychic self and the social unconscious is a hazy one.

When this theory is applied to figured vases, it is necessary to keep in mind that the

[13] Schmitt-Pantel (1994) 16, Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (1990) 210.
[14] See Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) 81. For an example in Roman art see Elsner (1996) and (2007).
[15] Aaron (2007) 85, see also, Mayne (1993) and Campbell (1995).

reaction the image provoked worked through a complex dualism, which relied upon the viewer's own imagination – inaccessible to the artist – an imagination which is filtered through the social unconscious. An image might appear to represent the lived experience of the viewer, when in fact, the image results from the individual as part of the collective. How the viewer constructs the image is how the image constructs the viewer. With the aid of this theory, it is possible to combine the social fact of the vase and the provocation of its imagery. Here, discussion applies these considerations to an apparently straightforward and simplistic image.

A red-figure pyxis now in Copenhagen, dated to the late fifth century, inscribed on the lid by the potter Gaurion, depicts a single calyx-krater on its lid (fig. 4.1).[16] This single iconographic vase has no part in any larger narrative, but seems to be a straightforward depiction of a vase. However, when situated amongst the wider iconography of sympotic and drinking scenes, the iconographic krater evokes the masculine world. The shape of the Copenhagen pyxis suggests an intended function and viewer in the domestic world, as the imagery and shape of the pyxis is generally described as one of the 'women's pots'.[17] In Chapter Three we confronted the issue of intentionality and its misleading qualities.[18] Here, it is evident that a contradiction remains between the surface and the shape of the vessel. In a similar way, but with less contradiction, a pyxis excavated from the Athenian Agora, also dated to the later fifth century, depicts a single cosmetic box (fig. 4.2).[19] Boxes in various sizes are often depicted on such containers and hold important symbolic value for expressing views about women and the feminine, and as a result, the Agora pyxis evoked a feminine identity through an iconographic convention.[20] The opened box awaits the return of the opener, who stores mysterious items inside. The viewer is a voyeur in the domestic world. In a detailed assessment of the images of women, Lewis queries the role of the pyxis as a woman's vase by drawing attention to the volume of containers excavated outside the domestic context; "In fact pyxides on pots themselves are rarely shown in domestic and non-ritual contexts".[21] If it is possible to use iconographic pyxides as illustrative of the

[16] Copenhagen, National Museum: 953. A second pyxis, also signed by the Gaurion Potter, depicts a shield with the device of an arm holding a sword, a strongly masculine image; British Museum, E770.
[17] Lissarrague (1995) 97. For a typically feminine image, see for example; Berlin, Pergamonmuseum: 3373.
[18] Intention of the artist does not result in realty of the situation.
[19] P 23897.
[20] Lissarrague (1995) 91ff. The Agora pyxis has letters and markings on its lid and underneath, suggesting either mark of commercial units or personal ownership; in either case suggesting that the vase fulfilled a practical function in the household, see Lang (1976) esp.p56.
[21] Lewis (2002) 133, see especially 132ff. To emphasise the problematics of gendering a vase, see the

function and context, the pyxis more correctly resides in the ritualised context, either an offering or grave good.[22] The imagery reflects a construction, not the reality of gendered pots. A second example further illustrates the complexities of the pyxis as a gendered pot, or even as one that epitomises heterosexuality. A black-figure pyxis, now in Mississippi, dated to the second third of the sixth century, and said to have been found in Athens, depicts scenes which connect heterosexual and homosexual relations.[23] One scene shows an unveiling bride, standing before the bridegroom, a second scene shows two women sharing a cloak, and a third scene shows intercrural sex between youths. Davidson discusses this vase as particularly significant due to its shape and implied function. Pyxides were commonly associated with weddings, and here, the Mississippi pyxis links the homosexual to the heterosexual wedding as another form of betrothal.[24] The Mississippi pyxis is neither a gendered nor heterosexual vessel in this case.

Returning to the Copenhagen pyxis (fig.4.1) it is possible to attempt a second interpretation influenced by its status as an archaeological phenomenon in the ritualised contexts, and a vessel which required the social unconscious. The pyxis is more commonly found outside the domestic context, suggesting that its iconography is misleading in terms of its connection to function. The image was evocative, and not illustrative. The Copenhagen pyxis in particular drew upon a much wider framework of meanings beyond its apparently simple iconography. The viewer sees the single calyx-krater and considers the possibilities of a narrative outside that which is represented by the artist. The krater is depicted in countless communal drinking scenes, allowing the vessel to become a symbol of male collective experience of drinking and excess. The Copenhagen pyxis provokes a combined response, one which draws upon the imagination as informed by conventional figurative language. It epitomises the tension between the seen and the unseen.

In the first section of the discussion which follows, we consider how the krater in particular constructed perceptions of male gender through iconography of the symposium. Although these images appear to depict real life, interpretation of such imagery was informed by social expectations and conventions. These societal and individual influences upon the viewing

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lack of pyxides of the Shrine of Nymphe in Athens (see Brouskari (1974)), measured against the popularity of pyxidies as grave goods in the Kerameikos (see Knigge (1976).

[22] See Goteborg, Rohsska Mus: 72.58, Athens, Dinopoulos: 8, New York, Metropolitan Museum: 26.60.75, Berkeley , Phoebe Apperson Hearst Mus. of Anthropology: 8.4583.

[23] University of Mississippi, 1977.3.72, for a detailed discussion of the image, see Davidson (2007) fig. 54, 597-598.

[24] Davidson (2007) fig.54, 597.

experience determined the response had by the viewer. It was not only the image that provoked a response, but the vessel conveying the image to the viewer. The function/ality of the vase enabled it to interact as part of the social nexus.

Constructing the Symposium

The perception and identity of a society is demonstrated by the rituals and symbols attached to the consumption of food and drink that goes far beyond nutritional values.[25] Furthermore, the way in which consumption is represented expresses how a society wished to be perceived by its citizens and outsiders. The symposium in Athenian society was a formal occasion for the communal consumption of wine, tightly controlled by rules and rituals, and the archetypal example of consumption. Predominately for the aristocratic class, at least in the Archaic period, the aesthetics and wider perception of the symposium had a lasting importance for social values and citizenship of the male population.[26] As an event, the symposium brought together a small scale group of friends and neighbours under the guise of reciprocity and community. Guests began to recline on couches from as early as the eighth century.[27] Participation in communal drinking activities in various forms was how citizens shared themselves with others and how they saw themselves as part of society from the Archaic period and continuing during the Democracy. In Chapter One we evaluated the archaeological evidence for symposia within the domestic sphere of Athens. Evidence for the archetypal symposium is relatively slim, and seems to have been an ideological construction, rather than a lived reality. In this section, we consider the social meaning of this construction, as a social institution which provided the collective identity of the male citizen. And due to the need for tableware during this experience, the symposium had a significant effect upon the relationship between vase and Athenian society. By viewing representations of symposia, male citizens were provoked to perform their identity.

Both archaeological evidence and a critical evaluation of spectatorship draw attention to the discrepancy between social 'reality' and the conceptual world of the symposium. As Lissarrague warns when discussing vase imagery in general; "The images therefore inform us

[25] Garnsey (1999) 6ff.
[26] Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 204ff, see also the introduction to this study for an in depth discussion.
[27] Murray (1994) 6, for the origins of the symposium in general, see Murray (1994) 3-13 and Murray (1994b) 47–54.

partly about the reality which they transcribe, but also about the ways of seeing and conceiving this reality".[28] By transcribing an idea of the symposium the artist is embedded in both the need to work with conventional figurative language and the need to entertain the viewer. Such images are an amalgamation of a range of collective activities, in sanctuaries and the *oikos*; reflections of the "civic reality" of the period without clear definitions and boundaries.[29] This play between reality and the imagination is appropriate to the symposium, which occupied a similar position itself, as Davidson states; "The sympotic space conspired with the effect of the alcohol to create a sense of entering a separate reality".[30]

Representations of sympotic consumption became emblematic of male society and identity, allowing themselves and others to experience a perception of themselves as a group, rather than individuals. It was the vase, its image and shape, function and functionality, which conveyed and reaffirmed this perception of masculinity by bringing it out into society. This was communicated in two ways; first, as a functional object, particular vases came to symbolise communal consumption activities, and second, on their surface particular vases represented the figurative conventions which supported this form of male identity.

The cups, kraters and oinochoai were the tools of formal symposia.[31] Hundreds of these vessels excavated from Athens and further afield depict communal drinking activities. We might wonder whether a symposium could be a symposium without the use of these objects. In Chapter One, speculation focus on whether the symposium evoked in literature was an archetype, an ideal, not a consistent reality. Evidence for communal drinking is widespread, but the absence of kraters in one particular deposit, suggests that drinking had a different method.[32] If the krater is the symbol of the symposium, then this was no symposium.

To create the representational language of the symposium, artists built upon and repeated conventional symbols that the viewer understood. The fragmentary illustrations of symposia in Athens have been excavated from a wide variety of relational contexts, suggesting the prevalence of this visual language. For example, in the tondo of a red-figure cup, excavated from a well on the northeast side of the Agora and dated to 510 B.C, a youth is shown reclining,

[28] Lissarrague (1999) 196.
[29] Schmitt-Pantel (1999) 15.
[30] Davidson (1997) 44.
[31] Specifying 'formal' symposium refers back to Chapter One, where we distinguished the iconic symposium, which required the use of rituals, as well as elaborate tableware. Drinking done in the home, outside the andron, does not fit this formal sympotic model.
[32] Deposit J 2:4, see Chapter One, 'Archaic House' for detailed examination of deposit.

playing a game of kottabos and holding a skyphos, with what seems to be a flute case at his feet (fig.1.2/4.3).[33] This cup was discussed in Chapter One. Each element of the image, as well as the physicality of the cup, evokes the symposium. The game, the posture and the skyphos, a vessel which suggests deep drinking, are conventional. However, the youth reclines as if floating in the air. The absence of the couch is one convention the artist overlooks. This has the effect of bringing the viewer into the space, as though sitting alongside the youth. A second example from Athens, a fragment of a krater, excavated from the residential area behind South Stoa I and dated to the late fifth or early fourth century, depicts the lower half of a female entertainer beside a couch occupied by the reclined drinkers (fig.4.4).[34] The inclusion of the couch draws the viewer back to the role of observer. The benefit of knowing such examples were used in the domestic quarters of Athens illustrates the conventional interest in images of consumption, which were perhaps perceived of more as icons, rather than lived experiences.[35]

Without knowledge of where the vase was excavated, our understanding of the actual use of the vase is almost impossible to retrace. The importance of use over intended function, was explored in detail in Section One. However, when turning our attention towards the connection between function and image, better preserved examples discovered across Europe, exported from Athens, expand upon the fragments discussed above. Douris is perhaps the most famous painter of sympotic scenes, working from c.500-460 B.C. A fine example of his work is a red-figure cup, excavated from Italy and produced in Athens. This red-figure cup, dated to c.480 B.C and now in Florence, is decorated with a continuous sympotic scene (fig.4.5a/b).[36] Surrounding the cup is a series of reclined drinkers, the tables tucked beneath the couches suggests the meal has ended, drinking has begun. Each guest holds a cup for different purposes. The drinker wearing the Scythian hat uses his cup to play kottabos by directing the dregs of his wine at the stand, whereas the drinkers on the other side seem to be keeping their wine for drinking. This hat distinguishes the drinker from the others.[37] Aspects of this scene are representative of the influence of ideals and aesthetics which dominate visual perceptions of the symposium. For example, the naked youths denote contemporary homoerotic interests

[33] P1274.
[34] P26061.
[35] For other examples see P24142, P12511, P4674.
[36] Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 3922.
[37] Lissarrague (1990) 11.

associated with this environment.[38] Are these youths working, or taking pleasure? Are they symbols, or part of the frame of the symposium? The iconographic vases function in both the background and foreground of the scene. Primarily, the vases have practical functions, as vessels for liquids. However, the cups and oinochoai suspended above the heads of the drinkers are the most visually prominent in the scene. They have a decorative, not a practical, function. They are meant to be seen, and their visual impact creates the environment of the symposium. They are symbols, as well as tangible objects. In this manner, the decorative vessel connects to the real and artificial youths, which are beautiful as well as useful objects, to be looked at, and not touched.

A second earlier red-figure cup by Douris, dated to c.500 B.C and now housed in Vatican City, continues the theme of communal drinking, but with more chaos and less order (fig.4.6).[39] On the side illustrated here, three drinkers recline on cushions, not couches, whilst drinking from large cups and playing the aulos and the game of kottabus. A second side, not illustrated here, shows another three drinkers reclined on cushions, listening to a female aulos player whilst a naked youth stands by a krater. The symbols of desire are prominent here, sexual and alcoholic consumption. In the tondo, which would be slowly unveiled to the drinker as the dregs of the wine are drank, a female holds the head of a reclined drinker as he makes himself sick into a bowl. We can get too much of what we desire. With a similar result, but presented in a different manner, the vessels not in use on the Vatican cup are both inside and outside the scene, and therefore, the symposium. Silhouettes of vases surround the foot of the cup, and Lissarrague lists the vases; “four skyphoi, three cups, a kantharos, three pitchers, and one vase with a phallus for a spout”.[40] One pitcher is turned on its side, suggesting disruption. Douris uses this frieze to confront the viewer with both the function, and the aesthetics of sympotic tableware.

From these two Douris cups, discussion has considered images which attempt to construct the identity of the viewer, and their experience. In both cases, the physical and the aesthetic are used in combination to evoke desire and consumption. The image decorating the surface functions alongside the physicality of the cup to construct the sympotic realm. However,

[38] See Bremmer (1994) 135-148, Davidson (1997) and (2008).
[39] Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 16561.
[40] Lissarrague (1990) 89.

not all viewing experiences follow this pattern. In fact, the viewer is able to reconstruct and re-appropriate the image to fit their own identity, or something beyond themselves. The image and the vessel combine to challenge acceptable norms of behaviour, with the intention of provoking a reaction in the viewer. Perhaps the most radical revision of convention are the few surviving examples of female drinkers, reclining in groups.

A red-figure psykter, excavated from Etruria, dated between 510-500 B.C and now housed in St. Petersburg, depicts a group of female drinkers (fig.4.7a/b).[41] Four naked females recline on cushions and drink from skyphoi and cups. Each female, except the aulos player, holds two drinking vessels, emphasising the serious quantities of alcohol consumed. Three of the females have their hair wrapped and are completely naked. One appears to be playing kottabos and a series of kalos-inscriptions encroach on the image. One particular female stands out with her frontal facing position, looking out at the viewer, generally used to suggest drunkenness and trance state.[42] Her hair is different, perhaps suggesting her special status. It is not possible to know the context in which this is happening, nor the status of the females as nakedness does not necessarily have to suggest prostitution.[43] The appearance of the naked female body in vase painting is generally interpreted as reducing the female to the status of a prostitute. Bonfante develops upon this interpretation to suggest that the body expressed a weakness and vulnerability.[44] The naked female, reserved only for a husband, was exposed, literally laid bare before the viewer. Such an image would be simulating to the viewer, as well as gratifying to the dominant male order. Is this image simply a parody of male sociability, or an image of wealthy hetairai? All speculation. The symbols in the image are conventional, but the gender of the drinkers is far from being so. A similar scene on a red-figure cup in Madrid, also excavated from Etruria and dated to c.520 B.C, depicts a scene of two naked females (fig.4.8).[45] The females are reclined upon cushions, one with wrapped hair plays the aulos, whilst her companion with hair more similar to the frontal facing female from the St. Petersburg psykter, passes a drinking cup towards her, and keeps one to herself. Between the figures runs an inscription which invites the viewer; “You drink too” – in the imperative, making an instruction or

[41] St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 644.
[42] For an example of the frontal facing figures, see Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) for female figure, and Hedreen (2007) for gorgon.
[43] These females are referred to as hetairai in the Beazley archive, 200078.
[44] Bonfante (1989) 560, 559-561.
[45] Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional: L151.

demand of her companion, as well as the viewer.[46] How does this scene connect to side A, which depicts Theseus chasing a bull? Perhaps the viewer is meant to question the definition of manly activity.

These two examples work with the conventional iconography of the symposium, and yet they use these conventions to challenge the conventional. The artist is manipulating the conventional iconographic language, with an uncertain meaning.[47] When used alongside female figures, the iconography questions gender and gender defined roles. The constructed definition of masculinity is transposed onto the feminine. It is up to the viewer to reconstruct and re-appropriate these images, either as a challenge or parody. The functionality of these two vessels drew upon the prior knowledge of the viewer as informed by social conceptions of conventional behaviour. The viewer would recognise the activity on display, but it was the role of the vase in this instance to evoke in the viewer something different, something challenging. This is an example of the power of the functionality of the vase, when its inversion is only possible when convention is established.

For the remainder of this first section, attention focuses upon the function/ality of the krater as a force in the construction of masculine identity through consumption and sexual desire. This was only possible when the krater had accumulated meaning as a result of its social exchange. What the image did was to function alongside the practical function of the vase to create and engage with an iconic relational context. This relational context – the symposium – had a deep rooted impact upon the identity of the Athenian male.

The Krater in a Man's World

As an object or character in the image, the iconographic vase is an informant and index to the overall narrative.[48] As an informant, it gives context to the image, providing the viewer with an understanding of space and location. As an index, it links the narrative to a wider social context through a series of visual associations, either collective events or shared societal values. It is the intention here to examine the way in which the iconographic krater is used as a narrative object in images of communal drinking activity to reiterate and convey culturally conceived

[46] *Pine kai su:* translation Lissarrague (1990) 60.
[47] For this interpretation, see Lissarrague (1994a) 219-220.
[48] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 19-21, see also Barthes 'Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative' for example.

ideals of masculine sexuality. The iconographic krater is used by artists to represent a man's world in which youths and women are objects to be consumed alongside wine, as particularly during the Archaic period, the krater was a symbol of aristocratic customs.[49] In this way, the iconographic krater works with the aesthetics, values and ideals of aristocratic symposia and carries a message which fits with socially constructed notions of male sexuality and masculinity.

A red-figured cup, now in Oxford, attributed to the Ambrosios painter and dated between 510-500 B.C, brings together key components of communal drinking; the krater and naked youths (fig.4.9).[50] As one youth dips an oinochoe into a gigantic krater over half his size, another youth is pulled away by a determined bearded admirer. Further around the Oxford cup a bearded male stands alongside another centralised krater of the same portions, holding up an oinochoe. The action on this cup evolves around alcoholic and sexual consumption. Figured vases intended for use in the symposium depict a chaotic world centred on consumption. Perhaps originally intended as an instructive experience for an adolescent, by the end of the seventh century, a symposium was frequently depicted as a venue for pederasty and seduction.[51] Whilst sharing a couch with an admirer, the adolescent might be presented with love gifts, such as a hare, and have poetry read in his honour, whether he is present or not.[52] The visual aspect of the vase had an important role to play in this relationship as both imagery and the phenomenon of *kalos*-inscriptions celebrated the beauty and status of elite adolescents.[53]

A red-figure cup in Paris, signed by Skythes and dated to 520 B.C, depicts a group of four naked youths alongside a garlanded krater (fig.4.10).[54] Two stand either side of the krater, one presents his cup whilst the other appears to be dipping his into the krater for more wine. The krater is an informant, giving context to the nakedness of the youths.[55] Running alongside the figures is a kalos-inscription, praising the beauty of Epilykos, perhaps a youth attending symposia. In the tondo of the cup, another naked youth is in the process of putting on greaves, alluding to the interests in warfare most likely shared by the viewer. According to Lissarrague,

[49] See Luke (1994) for a discussion of the place of the krater is society.
[50] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1911.616.
[51] Bremmer (1994) 142.
[52] For details regarding Athenian homosexuality, see Davidson (2008) esp. 418ff.
[53] For kalos-inscriptions see; Slater (1998) and Lissarrague (1999a).
[54] Paris, Musée du Louvre: G10BIS.
[55] Informant refers to a figure or thing which helps to identify the space and context of the image, without making an essential contribution to the narrative. This use and definition is based upon Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) 17.

images like the Oxford and Paris cups; “unites the essential components of the Archaic *komos* and the *symposion* which it accompanies: wine, the music of the lyre, dancing, and the erotic”.[56]

The naked youth is frequently depicted either alone or as part of a komos group alongside the krater. The komos generally took place after the symposium, and brought the drinking onto the streets. In examples such as the Oxford cup, the viewer is encouraged to appreciate the image for its erotic content, which did not necessarily correspond to their lived experience, but *did* correspond to culturally constructed ideals of male sexuality. Although perhaps not straightforwardly erotic, the very nakedness of the youths would have galvanised the sexual excitement of the viewer. The krater is used here as an informant which provides context for appropriate nakedness.[57] Through an engagement with the naked youth and sympotic pederasty, the erotic aspect of the iconographic krater is absorbed into its functionality. This can be taken further to the point where the krater is an erotic aspect in the image itself. As a rare example, a cup in Brussels, painted by Euergides and dated to the last quarter of the sixth century, shows a youth wearing a garland standing in front of a bell-krater, masturbating (fig. 4.11).[58] Painted alongside the youth is an inscription which reads; “*I greet you*”, which refers perhaps to his penis or even his semen, as Kilmer observes and further states; “This is the only example I know from red-figure in which it is absolutely certain that masturbation is the immediate goal of a human male”.[59] Conceivably, this acclamation could be referring to the wine or the krater itself as the effect of the wine and the presence of the krater induced an intoxicating experience. Wine as the contents of the krater could bring joy and danger and in the sympotic context, each is embedded in sexuality.[60]

The process of actually making wine and wine as the contents of the krater is also played with in connection to perceptions of male sexuality. On the tondo of a cup in Cambridge, painted by the same painter as the Brussels cup, a youth crouches inside a bell-krater (fig.4.12).[61] Curved to the tondo a *kalos*-inscription draws attention to the beauty of the youth. Around the outside of the cup are scenes in the palaestra and three naked youths surrounding a second iconographic krater. The scene in the tondo is complex. Naturally, the grapes used to

[56] Lissarrague (1994) 201.
[57] Nakedness, see Bonfante (1989) 543-70, Osborne (1998) 80-104 and Stewart (1997) 'Erotica' 156ff.
[58] Brussels, Musees Royaux: R260.
[59] Translation Kilmer (1993) 60-61, image R173.
[60] Lissarrague (1990) 5ff.
[61] Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: GR15.1937.

make wine required pressing and so perhaps the youth is taking part in the wine production process. But his sideways glance at the viewer suggests something more. Here, the youth wears a garland which firmly places him in the symposium. Rather than attempting to interpret this image as a straightforward depiction of wine production or treating grapes, it is perhaps more nuanced to suggest that a naked youth inside a krater embodies the very notion of sympotic drinking by drawing attention to its key elements – wine, the krater and eroticism. There are relatively few depictions of figures treading grapes, and the majority involve a group of satyrs, rather than a youth or even men.[62] When the satyr treads grapes he brings his knees up in an exaggerated gesture, whereas the youth in the Cambridge cup just crouches inside. It is as through the drinker might be metaphorically drinking him.[63]

A red-figure cup in Frankfurt, dated between 525-475 B.C draws together the erotic ambiguity of youths inside kraters (fig.4.13).[64] Inside the tondo a naked youth appears to be on all fours inside a krater. The prominent element of the youth's appearance is his exaggerated genitals which protrude behind him. The artist is not interested in the natural aesthetic here, but wishes to arouse and amuse the viewer. Much like the youths on the Douris cup (fig.4.5a/b), we wonder whether these images are erotic and elegant, or servile and functional. Is the youth a figure at work, or a figure at play? The eroticism is highly suggestive however. Much like a stripper from out of a cake, the youth emerges from the krater. The krater, wine and the youth are in essence the same. Such erotic images work on different interpretative levels. The viewer must understand first, the function of the krater, second, the symbolism connected to the krater, and third the erotic values attached to images of naked youths in communal drinking contexts. Rather than actually representing images of grape pressing, the process is eroticised through a constructed male homosexuality. To enjoy such an image as a viewer is to actively engage in the socially conceived conceptions of adult male sexuality. The iconographic krater is an important element in this construction.

Women did attend symposia as entertainers, servants and hetairai.[65] The symposium offered a key location for the sex workers from the city and as a result of their sexual availability,

[62] Satyrs, treading grapes: Red-figure Cup: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1911.616, man treading grapes; Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 24.453.
[63] See Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 10892 as example of youth with same knees up posture.
[64] Frankfurt, Museum fur Vor- und Fruhgeschichte: B402.
[65] Blundell (1999) 135.

women made an important contribution to the erotic atmosphere of the symposium.[66] Representations of the krater and single female figures are noticeably fewer in number than similar examples depicting youths. These representations take two broad themes; serving wine and erotic. A red-figure cup, now at Berkeley, depicts in the tondo a single female figure, fully clothed, holding a ladle and cup which she appears to be filling from a krater.[67] In similar examples depicting youths, their nakedness is perhaps their most prominent feature; in this case, the clothed figure of the woman is equally as significant. The clothed woman on the Berkeley cup is ambiguous and suggests a function and relational context other than the symposium. Regardless of role, the relationship between the serving woman and the krater is less immediately erotically charged as the voyeurism experience by the viewer is less intense. In this case, the beauty of the woman is expressed in her clothing, not her body.[68]

Representations of heterosexual intercourse in the same scene as the iconographic krater are infrequent. A red-figure cup in Malibu by Phintias and dated between 500-510 B.C, shows a naked youth and a naked woman apparently sharing a krater of wine.[69] The youth holds his prominently erect penis and a corner of the krater. The naked woman, hair wrapped, holds the other corner, and either brings the krater towards her or towards him to finish off the wine. Kilmer situates this interaction at a symposium and states that women in this context are typically shown drinking, because; "…after all, [that is] what symposia were about".[70] The aesthetics of this scene are not pleasant, the woman looks significantly older than the youth, with large breasts and double chin, and the large penis that the youth holds is grotesquely emphasised.

Female nudity did not have a public context in Athens, and so when females appear naked on vases, we are entering a voyeuristic world.[71] A red-figure cup, now in Chiusi by Chaire Painter and dated to c.500 B.C, depicts a single naked woman, hair wrapped, standing at a krater with one hand almost inside, perhaps dipping in a cup (fig.4.14).[72] Suspended behind her is a wineskin, likely used to fill the krater. Her figure is attractive and clearly intended to

[66] Lewis (2002) 112ff.
[67] Berkeley (CA), Phoebe Apperson Hearst Mus. of Anthropology: 8.2184.
[68] Generally speaking, the beauty of male youths is expressed with the naked body, whereas as the beauty of the female is in her clothes and accoutrements, see Lissarrague (1994a) 204.
[69] Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.31, for discussion of the image see Kilmer (1993) 62.
[70] Kilmer (1993) 62.
[71] See footnote 42 and 54 for nakedness in general and female nakedness.
[72] Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 1842.

stimulate the viewer. In Sutton's review of genre, he states that such images were "peephole pornography aimed at an audience of male and disreputable females", based in the sympotic context.[73] Another red-figure cup in Rome shows a naked female, with garland, balancing over a krater and apparently using an olisboi or dildo.[74] Either the woman is masturbating or performing an act for the viewer, both aims to create an erotic image. A final example of a naked female at a krater departs markedly from those discussed above. A red-figure pelike, painted by Myson and now in Syracuse shows on one side a naked woman, hair wrapped, leaning with both hands in a krater (fig.4.15).[75] Folded on a stool behind her is an item of clothing with a pair of shoes placed on top. A sponge and strigil are suspended, suggesting the gymnasium. Such naked bathing scenes represent the first group of naked females in Attic visual art, beginning in the late sixth century.[76] The resemblance of posture between the Syracuse pelike and the Chiusi cup are striking. Both women dip their hands into the krater, one to wash and one to drink. This scene has been categorized as 'domestic', giving the viewer a window into the private world. On the other side of the Syracuse pelike we see an apparently identical woman climbing into a basket containing olisboi, behind stands the same. Keuls evaluates the use of olisboi in such images stating; "Evidently these scenes reflect male notions of women's desires".[77] This assumption is beyond doubt. And yet, the image itself is complex. The naked woman washing corresponds to other images of naked women; however, her washing activity gives the scene a domestic feel. The iconographic krater pulls the image into the sympotic context, and yet her actions are not so easily contextualised.

The functionality of the iconographic krater results from its practical function within communal drinking environments. This functionality is developed far beyond function however, to become part of the figurative construction of gender experience. In the world of images, the symposium represented the most iconic collective male experience and the krater held a firm position within this practice. By depicting the krater, the artist wished the viewer to draw upon lived experience as well as constructed ideals of sympotic behaviour. The characterising factor of the symposium

[73] Sutton (1992) 23.
[74] Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 0.604.
[75] Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi: 20065.
[76] Sutton (1992) 22.
[77] Keuls (1993) 85.

was erotic activity and through the experience discussed above, it is apparent that the iconographic krater came to signify eroticism in an environment with no barriers. Rather than depicting reality, the association made with the iconographic krater drew upon societal conceptions of masculine sexual experience. To use the krater and to view the image was to participate in a figuratively constructed identity. The functionality of the krater was key to the successful communication of this identity, and therefore, aided the continuation of societal approved behaviour and ideals, defining the masculine view of the collective social experience.

Constructing the Domestic

When apparently realistic depictions of women without men appear on figured vases, they are generally referred to as 'domestic' and conceived of as representing the lived experience and daily lives of women.[78] This domestic genre of imagery invariably involves women. Therefore, the concept of the domestic and the domestic context are irretrievably tied to female identity. The household, *oikos*, was the space of belonging for the (honourable) female.[79] So little evidence remains to illuminate women's existence in Athens that the iconography of domestic activity is considered an important insight into a closed world. However, reflections of the domestic context and the feminine image came from constructions of gender made by society. These constructions were constructed, in the main, by men.[80]

It almost goes without saying that such imagery cannot be taken at face value. Rather, it was a "poetic dimension to woman's space",[81] aimed to be aesthetically pleasing to the viewer. The visual language of the domestic context was heavily embedded in the masculine culture and ideology of Athenian society. These images, like those of communal drinking activity, worked as imaginative as well as conventional constructions of lived experience, interpreted by the viewer by means of repeated symbols. But who was the intended viewer of this category of images that both reflected a construct of gender and dispersed this construct to the viewer who either resisted or conformed?

[78] For example, when searching the Beazley Archive, putting 'domestic' into the description field returns over 1000 results. This general catagorisation is used to describe images of predominately female activity.
[79] This concept of the woman remaining in the domestic sphere was an ideal in the ancient world, in fact, poverty forced many women into work as prostitutes, barmaids and merchants at the Agora. For example, Aristophanes famously mocks Euripides for having a greengrocer for a mother, *Acharn*. 478 and *Thesm*. 455.
[80] Lissarrague (1994a) 141.
[81] Lissarrague (1994a) 196.

In a co-authored study of the female viewing experience, Blundell and Rabinowitz's interpretation of such domestic imagery considers the target viewer as female; "this encourages us to think about the ways in which women were both shaping and being shaped by the imagery they were viewing".[82] In Sutton's examination of the genre, he draws attention to the ever increasing feminine market, exploited by artists during the fifth century.[83] For the opposite perspective, Keuls points firmly at the male viewer, who enjoyed such imagery as an erotic experience of the secret, female world.[84] This domestic space conformed to male desires for the male viewer. The intended viewer is a sticky term, referring to a viewer imagined by the artist, but not necessarily the one to receive the image. The force behind this genre is more easily definable. By depicting women in the domestic context, the artist was using established societal expectations to construct the female identity. In this way, the viewer as a woman would have recognised the visual experience of dominant ideology, and either viewed it as instructive or as the construction which it was. For a male viewer, representations of the domestic female world provided a voyeuristic viewing experience.

Returning directly to theories of spectatorship, Laura Mulvey, an influential psychoanalytic film theorist, has emphasised the dominant role of the male viewer, and the influence of social convention. In their role as viewer, according to Mulvey, males are scopophilic and controlling of women, which are viewed merely as objects, not rounded beings. This is actively encouraged in narrative cinema. Mulvey concludes; "The image of woman as (passive) raw material for the (active) gaze of man takes the argument a step further into the structure of representation, adding a further layer demanded by the ideology of the patriarchal order."[85] In other words, images of women speak to societal expectations of femininity which are controlled by men and work for men.[86] If images of the domestic context on figured vases are aimed at a female viewer, they aim to reaffirm the patriarchal Athenian society.

As an object with an image, the figured vase promoted conventional concepts of femininity to both a female and male viewer – to inform and control, or to excite and reassure. Lekythoi, pyxides and loutrophoroi are particularly associated with women, categorised as

[82] Blundell and Rabinowitz (2008) 116.
[83] Sutton (1994) 4.
[84] Keuls (1993) 235.
[85] Mulvey (1975) 17.
[86] Lissarrague (1994a) 141 and 208. For evidence of female artists, see a red-figure hydria Milan, Torno Collection (Beazley archive number: 206564). The scene depicts several artisans under the gaze of Athena, one female works on a volute-krater.

'women's pots' and frequently depict domestic scenes.[87] Although problematic, these vessels had an important role in constructing concepts of female identity, based upon a dominant masculine vision.

Depictions of domestic context were most common during the early Classical period, with the lekythos as the shape of choice.[88] Around 440 B.C, an iconographic change occurs, from a male dominated eroticism to female romanticism, particularly evident in representations of wedding scenes from fifth century onwards.[89] Sutton puts this down to artists targeting a female market. These depictions draw upon objects which evoke the feminine atmosphere of the domestic context, such as chairs, boxes, containers, and mirrors.[90] The icon of beauty and adornment – the mirror – reflects a concept of femininity based entirely upon physicality. The mirror is an exclusively female object.[91] The mirror has a dual function, as a means of reflecting the female in the image, and engaging the viewer with the image as well. The mirror reflects both the figure and the viewer.[92] Dressing is another popular image of personal adornment. A red-figure hydria, dated to 430 B.C, excavated from a cutting not far from the Agora, depicts three women involved in dressing, one holds a chiton, another ties her belt with her teeth, whilst the third figure looks on (fig. 4.16).[93] The discovery of the hydria in Athens emphasises the domestic popularity of such imagery, as well as its value on the export market. Suspended, as if floating in space, objects from the domestic sphere such as mirrors, sashes and vases, figuratively interpret the feminine identity of the space.[94] The suspension of a vase makes a visual connection to its function. For example, a red-figure, white ground lekythos, dated between 475-425 B.C, in the Athens National Museum, details a domestic scene with two women, one seated holding a wreath, whilst another stands holding flowers (fig.4.17).[95] The flowers symbolise the beauty of the females. Suspended above their heads are a plain black lekythos and an oinochoe. Each of these vessels has ritual functions and associations, for

[87] As we mentioned earlier, Lewis challenges this characterisation; see Vase-Syntax and footnote 21.
[88] Webster (1972) 226.
[89] Sutton (1994) 3ff.
[90] For the symbolism of domestic objects, see Lissarrague (1995) 91-101.
[91] Lissarrague (1994a) 202. For an interesting comparison between gender grooming, see Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History, A11, red-figure skyphos.
[92] Lissarrague (1994a) 202.
[93] P 6053.
[94] Mirror: Athens, National Museum: 12890. Red-figure lekythoi regularly feature suspended lekythoi in domestic and funerary scenes. For example see, Brussels, Musees Royaux: A1019 & Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 20309.
[95] Athens, National Museum: 1826.

making libations and leaving behind offerings. The white-ground lekythos itself had strong connection to the ritual world, particularly funerary practice. The situation of the females on this vase, alongside two suspended vessels, denotes another aspect of feminine domesticity, as ritual practitioners – beautiful ritual practitioners.

The function of the vase within the domestic context left it embedded in the identity of the household. Nothing was more of the household than the women inside it. As a result of this connection, the vase came to symbolise and construct the behaviour and identity of the feminine. In the few examples we have discussed, it is possible to see how the figurative language of the scene was built around preconceived and conventional ideals, promoted by wider society. Thus far, our examination has been general. For the remainder of this section, we focus our attention on the figured loutrophoros, which has a specific and unique relationship to female identity. This was manifest in both function, and functionality, particularly during preparations for the wedding – the world of the feminine *par excellence*.

The Beautiful Loutrophoros

The wedding ceremony determined the identity of a woman; "marriage represented the fulfilment of woman's destiny, just as war represented the fulfilment of man's".[96] To become a woman, the wedding is a necessary rite of passage, encouraging separation, transition, and incorporation into a new way of life, and yet this occurs inside the same context; the bride is separated from her family and past, transferred to another's house and given a new status, and then incorporated into a shared life with her husband.[97] However, as the wedding does not make a permanent mark upon the bride and divorce is possible, Ferrari is correct to emphasise the ceremony as a rite of appropriation rather than of passage, meaning that the identity of the woman is merged into that of a bride, rather than going through a permanent transformation.[98] This significant difference between permanent passage and appropriation emphasises the vulnerability of the bride to society's attempt to control her identity through wedding rituals. According to ideology, the woman is never just a woman, she is a bride or nothing, even in

[96] Lissarrague (1994a) 152.
[97] Van Gennep *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1960), Oakley and Sinos (1993) 3, Lissarrague (1994a) 143.
[98] Ferrari (2003) 38.

death.[99]

References to the wedding occur in literature from all periods, but depictions of the bride and wedding occur from the seventh century onwards, becoming popular in sixth century B.C vase painting.[100] The earliest surviving depiction of a bride is on a Proto-Attic loutrophoros, excavated from the Shrine of Nymphe, a site discussed in detail in the previous chapter.[101] The loutrophoros, in the Acropolis Museum, depicts a procession of women, carrying wreaths, and bringing bathwater for the bride-to-be, following a small girl carrying a loutrophoros. The connection between the find-spot and the vase is significant. Brides would dedicate a loutrophoros at the Shrine of Nymphe, the vase was used for the bride's bath before the wedding as an important part of ritual practice.[102] Therefore, the vase itself was symbolic of the ritual process. As a consequence, the artist who painted the Proto-Attic loutrophoros used the vessel to symbolise the bathing ritual.

Although there is little evidence for canonical iconography or a template,[103] artists were particularly interested in the preparations of the bride for the wedding procession, as well as the procession and transition of the bride.[104] During the fifth century, the change generally associated with an increase in the feminine market, emphasis is placed upon the role and emotions of the bride.[105] According to Sutton, sexuality is "tamed" and the role of love and romance is brought to the fore, represented by the figure of Eros; "'Eros operates in both an active and passive sense, expressing both the emotion felt by the bride and the feeling she engenders in the groom".[106] Feelings were conveyed through gestures and glances. Such scenes construct a particular perception of wedding rituals that appears to address the feminine. This is particularly evident in so-called 'adornment scenes', most likely associated with wedding scenes in general, in which a female is putting on jewellery or garments with the help of other females, often under the gaze of Eros or Nike. According to Blundell, such scenes made an important connection between the bride and the female viewer; "In the adornment scenes

[99] For details of the wedding ceremony and rituals, see Reeder (1995) 126-128, Oakley and Sinos (1993).
[100] Written sources are problematic, see Lissarrague (1994a) 142 and Oakley and Sinos (1993) 4-5. The dominate theme on black-figure vessels was the wedding procession, see dinos, London, British Museum 1971.11-1.1.
[101] 1957.Aa.189, currently unpublished, for description see Brouskari (1974) 93.
[102] See Shrine of Nymphe, Chapter Three.
[103] Lissarrague (1994a) 142, see 142-163 for a discussion of scenes of marriage.
[104] For examples of wedding processions on red-figure loutrophoroi see; Berlin, Pergamonmuseum: F2372, Athens, National Museum: 1249, Copenhagen, National Museum: 9080.
[105] See footnote 78.
[106] Sutton (1994) 27.

marriage was presented to the female viewer as a woman's chief moment of glory, and also as the most appropriate location for her sexual attractiveness."[107] In this way, iconography of this type attempted to control the expectation and perceptions of the bride.

Emphasis upon feelings and emotions contrasts significantly with other examples, which retain a submissive focus. For example, a red-figure bowl or salt cellar, dated to the second half of the fifth century, and now in Bonn, shows a continuous scene of the wedding procession (fig.4.18).[108] A house stands at the beginning of the scene with the doors closed, suggesting the action is moving away, rather than towards it. A draped figure, holding a staff, stands in front of the house, and has been identified as the bride's father.[109] The draped figure looks towards the centre couple, the bride and groom. The groom, also draped, holds onto the bride. Significantly, the groom has an unrealistic youthfulness, depicted without beard, completely contradicting what is known of the practice. The groom was most often considerably older than the bride, and would certainly have a beard – the symbol of full adulthood.[110] The depiction of the bride here is very interesting. She is completely veiled. The viewer is denied access to her physicality, and her emotions, as her face, gestures and posture are completely invisible. The anakalypteria, the unveiling of the bride, marked the first bringing together of the bride and groom, and the point at which the bride accepted the offer of marriage. The moment the bride unveiled herself to the groom was highly significant and frequently depicted in Greek art.[111] The bride is regularly shown in the act of unveiling, but the concealment of the bride in the Bonn bowl is unusual.[112] Her physical invisibility is intensified in the naked wildness of the youth, holding torches in each hand. His exhilaration imbues the image with ritualised unrestraint. The naked youth leads the couple towards the cart and mules, which will take the bride to her new home. Returning to the veiled bride, Oakley and Sinos interpret this choice of the artist as an expression of "realism".[113] The bride would have remained veiled for the majority

[107] Blundell and Rabinowitz (2008)130.
[108] Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum: 994.
[109] See Oakley and Sinos (1993) 31-32 for a detailed description of the image.
[110] For a review of the literature of this, see Oakley and Sinos (1993) 10, footnote 10.
[111] For a discussion of the *anakalypteria*, see Oakley and Sinos (1993) 25-26 and Llewellyn-Jones (2003) 98-104, who emphasises the problematics of the term. For a description of this ritual, see fragment of Pherecydes of Syros (7 [B] 2 DK) , recorded in Oakley and Sinos (1993) 25.
[112] For example, black-figure hydria, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 3790. Black-figure lekythos, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.1. Black-figure amphora, London British Museum B 160. In each of these examples the bride is in a chariot during the procession. For a red-figure depiction, see loutrophoros, Boston, 10.223.
[113] Oakley and Sinos (1993) 32.

of the wedding ceremony, but artists generally choose to depict her only partly veiled to give the viewer a peak. The veil is used by the artists in a variety of ways, but we must emphasise the distinction between realism and artworks.[114] Greek women were most likely habitually veiled in real life, but not in iconography.[115] This "realism" does not impact the depiction of the groom however, who is shown as a youth, even though he would most likely be over thirty. The bride has mystery and invisibility, not realism.

A second example of roughly the same period shows another interpretation of the wedding procession. A red-figure pyxis, now in Brussels, depicts a moment between bride and groom as frenzied, alongside a second couple (fig.4.19).[116] The intensity of the gaze shared between the central bride and groom suggests a wedding in the form of abduction. The groom takes a backward glance at his bride, reaches for her hand, as a second youth fanatically turns to face them, gesturing towards the chariot, their getaway. There are no buildings, and no adults standing to one side. Without context, without spectators, this scene depicts marriage as abduction.

Iconographically, the figured vase worked with a perception of the wedding as central to the world order.[117] It was a ritualised event intended to situate individuals in society. In particular, the wedding and the life that followed formed the identity of the female. For the remainder of this section, we focus upon the combined significance of image and form. We have encountered the loutrophoros as both a vessel of ritual practice, and a votive offering, in Chapter Three. Here, we consider how the iconography of marriage of the loutrophoros – the archetypical vessel of marriage – combined function and functionality to construct the identity of the female.

From the earliest period and into the red-figure period, the surface of the loutrophoros depicted both wedding ceremonies and funerary scenes; key rites of passage in lived experience. Beginning with the funerary scenes, which construct the role for the female as ritual practitioner, groups of female mourners surround a body ready for the funerary rites.[118] Some examples occurring on a variety of different shaped vases depict the loutrophoros during the

[114] Llewellyn-Jones (2003) 87-88
[115] See Llewellyn-Jones (2003) 1-21 for an introduction to the veil in the Greek world, and the controversy it has caused in scholarship.
[116] Brussels, Musees Royaux: A3547.
[117] Lissarrague (1994a) 149.
[118] For a discussion of women and funerals, see Lissarrague (1994a) 163-172. For the relationship between women and death, see Stears (1998) and (2000). For funerary scenes of red-figure loutrophoroi see; Paris, Musée du Louvre: CA453, Athens, National Museum: CC1168, Copenhagen, National Museum: 9195.

mourning rituals.[119] For example, a red-figure loutrophoros, dated between 500-450 B.C, by the Kleophrades painter and now in Paris, depicts a prothesis and mourning figures; males on one side, females on the other. On the long neck of the loutrophoros two female figures lift hands to their heads in mourning gestures. One female carries a loutrophoros (fig.4.20, neck scene).[120] The loutrophoros performed the same function during the funerary rituals as it did during wedding preparations; to bring water for bathing. Traditionally, the task of bathing a corpse was a woman's and women would help the bride bathe before her wedding day. This association between death and marriage and the loutrophoros is articulated through the burial of loutrophoroi as an offering for unmarried dead.[121] Loutrophoroi were placed on the tombs of the dead person and appear to have been used to make libations.[122] The shape of the loutrophoros was also carved into marble and used as a tomb stone, decorated with domestic scenes.[123] The place of the loutrophoros at different stages in life and death transformed it into a significant marker of domestic life. Consequently, the loutrophoros became entwined with the construction of female experience.

Returning to wedding rituals, the symbolic association between the loutrophoros and this event meant that the loutrophoros appeared frequently on loutrophoroi as an iconographic element. As an element in the image, the iconographic loutrophoros became significant to the viewer's understanding of the image, forming an important connection with feminine beauty and identity. For example, a red-figure loutrophoros-amphora, dated to 430-20 B.C by the Washington Painter in the National Museum at Athens, depicts a procession which makes a very clear connection between the function of the loutrophoros and the feminine beauty appropriate at a wedding (fig.4.21).[124] Six figures form the procession to carry the loutrophoros to the bathing ceremony, led by a woman holding torches. At the centre a girl carries the loutrophoros, which is larger than her upper body. A wreath is suspended just behind her head and Eros floats next to the loutrophoros, almost touching a handle. The role of Eros in wedding imagery, as mentioned above, is to emphasise the romance and beauty of the bride and the

[119] For examples of the loutrophoros in funerary scenes on red-figure vases see; Paris, Musée du Louvre: CA453, Havana, Lagunillas: 19470, Athens, Private: 43916.
[120] Paris, Musée du Louvre: CA453.
[121] For the connection between loutrophoroi and death, see E. Karydi 'Schwarzfigurige Lutrophoren im Kerameikos', *AM* 78 (1963) 90-103 and Moore and Philippides(1986) 18-20. For an example of this practice, se Dem.44.18,30, see also Hesych. sv loutrophoros and Poll. 8.66.
[122] Oakley and Sinos (1993) 6.
[123] See Knigge (1970) for images of loutrophoroi tombstones.
[124] Athens, National Museum: 1453.

ceremony. Here it is almost as though he is bestowing beauty into the water for the bride. The loutrophoros-amphora has two handles, and has been associated with the ritualised bathing for grooms. We should consider why a ritualised vessel, supposedly intended for male use, would depict a female bathing ritual, rather than the male equivalent. This suggests a severance between function and functionality. The vessel functioned in masculine rituals, but the iconography symbolised the event as singularly feminine. The loutrophoros is wholly feminine.

A second red-figure loutrophoros, dated to 440-430 B.C, also in the National Museum at Athens, depicts a seated female, evidently the bride, holding a loutrophoros.[125] Two females stand either side of her and Eros flies just above her head. Here, the loutrophoros signifies the event to come. The vessel is a gift to the bride-to-be, designed to be used. A final example, a red-figure lebes gamikos, dated to 450-400 B.C, by the Washington Painter, and now in the Benaki Museum at Athens depicts another adornment scene (fig.4.22).[126] The bride is seated as another female fastens her necklace. Other females line up, waiting with gifts for the bride. One of these gifts is a loutrophoros – the embodiment of her beauty.

These depictions place the loutrophoros at the centre of bridal preparations and more significantly, at the centre of socially determined feminine beauty. Rather than relating simply to the practical function of the vase, the iconographic loutrophoros is used to construct a figurative ideal of the bride. The viewing experience of these wedding scenes, like reflections of domestic context more generally, appears to be addressing a female viewer and perceptions of a feminine response to beauty. Rabinowitz has suggested that such an emphasis on female beauty was designed for a female audience; “This sexiness might be meant for a female viewer if the intended user of this vessel were a woman”.[127] But such an emphasis on beauty can only have been produced in the interests of the *polis* and the promotion of dominant ideology by encouraging women to adopt and conform to the role of the beautiful bride.

As a consequence, when brides dedicated their used loutrophoroi at the shine of Nymphe or elsewhere on the Acropolis as many did, the image they saw and their relationship with the function and functionality of the loutrophoros was determined by societal factors. The

[125] Athens, National Museum 12540.
[126] Athens, Benaki Museum: 3117.
[127] Blundell and Rabinowitz (2008) 132, see also Rabinowitz (2002) 106ff.

function of the loutrophoros and the functionality resulting from its use in ritual practice, transformed the vase into a construction of female identity and most immediately in the wedding ceremony, the construction of an appropriately beautiful bride.

Constructing Lived Experience

Representations of the gender specific experiences discussed here were emblematic of gender identity in ancient Athens, and motivated by a wish to reaffirm societal expectations. The symposium presented a masculinity focused upon friendship, sex and consumption; the wedding rituals presented a femininity focused upon beauty and sensuality. In both cases, the vase associated with each experience evoked the gender identity that conformed to socially constructed expectations. However, the inclusion of the vase in the image worked in significantly different ways; the krater in the scene created a claustrophobic, ever-encroaching involvement in the pleasure-seeking environment; loutrophoroi in representations of wedding were used to symbolise a rite of passage outside those immediate circumstances. Additionally, the vessels contained two very different liquids; loutrophoroi held bridal water, collected from sacred springs, used to purify the body; kraters contain water, but mixed with wine, the substance belonging to Dionysus which needed to be handled with care. One was pure, one corrupted the pure. The popularity and conventions of vase painting, based on collective identity, allowed artist and viewer to work through social constructs by depicting images that worked with an imagination partly controlled by social conditioning. The viewing experience of such culturally determined iconography appears to express both male and female identity, the former erotic, and the latter romantic, but both in a positive sense. And yet each subtly different expression of gender was determined by the dominant masculine ideology.

The significance attached to the krater and the loutrophoros in their specific visual contexts transformed them into a vehicle for this ideology, depicting images of ideals not realities, images that appear to be real, but determined by social conditioning. Through the prior knowledge of the viewer and the place of these collective experiences in society, the function and functionality of the vase combined to express social values and gender identity. It has been the intention of this discussion to examine the way

in which the essence of the vase is figuratively translated onto itself for the purposes of transcribing a positive version of reality, or at least, a reality that conforms to social ideals. In the next chapter, and the final one in this study, we move from gender to representations of sexual intercourse and erotic imagery. Realistic representation is not the intention. We explore the vase as an expression of the body, and the final stage of its animation and agency as an interactive object.

THE WORLD ON THE VASE: CHAPTER FIVE

CONSTRUCTING TRANSGRESSION:

SEXUALITY AND DESIRE ON THE VASE

Figure 5.1: Red-figure cup depicting group sex, Brygos Painter, c.490 B.C.

In this final chapter we continue to examine iconographic constructs, informed by the function/ality of the vase and the relationship between vase and society, explored in archaeological terms in section one. Here, our focus develops from iconographic constructions of gender identity and collective experience, discussed in the previous chapter, to visual erotica and how an artist constructed desire. It became evident towards the end of Chapter Four that the representation of gender identity and collective experience on the painted vase was determined by desire – a desire to consume wine and the body - and the meaning of the object itself – a meaning connected to the wider values of society. Like the majority of 'daily life' scenes, the viewer's experience of these images draws upon three factors; first, a provocation of the viewer's imagination, second, engaging

with culturally determined values, and third, the impact of the function and functionality of the vase within relational contexts. We consider the role of the vase, as an object which encouraged intimacy, in constructions of explicit and implicit erotic desire. The term construction continues to be used here and in the previous chapter, as such images should not be perceived of as realistic, but as depictions of a socially informed erotic imagination.

In this chapter, the figurative expression of the erotic imagination on the painted vase is the focus of discussion. In the same way that contemporary pornography depends upon mass production, the commercial exchange of erotica on vases was driven by the market.[1] Not only was the vase mass produced it also belonged to the private relational context, for example, the dining table, the shrine and the grave. The large scale production and freedom of the relational contexts enabled artist and viewer to explore with their imagination. Rather than reflecting sexual practices of the period, erotic vase painting is “a form of representation”, not a reality.[2] For our purposes, we focus upon Athenian red-figured vases, produced in the late Archaic period, between 530-460 B.C, a time of radical social change.[3] The majority occur on cups and other vessels associated with consumption and group drinking practices. Evidently, the nature of the vessel, meaning its use, and the image interconnect in a significant way.

The essence of erotica is explored on painted vases in three ways; first, as a vehicle for explicit images of sexual violence, notably on red-figure cups, as an expression of voyeuristic desires that anticipate a violent act, and provide the viewer with gratification; Second, as the ideal medium for visual erotica and as a substitute for and embodiment of sex organs both iconographically and physically; and third, as an expression of the anxiety and desire of the Drive, which culminates in scenes of erotic pursuit, where the ambiguous intention of the pursuer brings the viewer closest to figurative transgression. This chapter is not concerned with courtship, romance and love, but with the manipulative power of desire which reduces individual freedoms of choice to the level of consumption and need.

In the previous chapter, our theoretical framework was determined by an analysis of the viewing experience. Here, the approach influenced by the theories of Georges Bataille, a French

[1] For discussions of contemporary pornography and its origins, see Hunt (1993) 9-48 and Happler (1986) 1-2. For pornography in the ancient world, see Richlin (1992) and Kampen (1996).
[2] Kappler (1986) 2.
[3] Our time period follows the collection of material made by Kilmer (1993). Kilmer highlights the evolution towards democracy and the formation of the Delian league as determining events at this time, see (1993) 1.

theorist who defines a universal taboo and considers the social role of sexual liberty and violence. This chapter begins with an outline of this theory.

"The Taboo Within Us"

G. Bataille[4]

A French thinker and cultural theorist of the twentieth century Bataille occupied a position outside academic philosophy and received no formal training. This allowed him a freedom to cover diverse topics outside the constraints of any one discipline.[5] The history of art, the importance of sacrifice, eroticism and death were key areas of study for Bataille, who was greatly influenced by anthropological theory. Bataille's central discourse investigates the extremes of human existence and the margins of socially acceptable behaviour. "Freedom is nothing", Bataille states, "if it is not the freedom to live at the edge of limits where all comprehension breaks down".[6] The experience of life on the margins explores transgression. It is this perspective which informs Bataille's understanding of art and the subversive image. Subversive images are overwhelming for the viewer, inducing rapture and a distancing from the "banal representations" of the ordinary.[7] Erotica represents a strain of subversive imagery, and its function is to try and break the taboo of experiencing death and eroticism. For Bataille, the impulse to transgress through the image is used in an attempt to break the taboo. The taboo is not broken, however, just suppressed.[8]

In essence, the erotic is a violent transgression of a taboo, the taboo that makes images of sexual violence intolerable.[9] As a cultural theorist (and categorised as post-structuralist), the tendencies of Bataille to universalise transgression and taboo is in marked contrast to the structuralist Classical historians of the 1970s, such as Vernant. In his introduction to *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*, Vernant goes to lengths to emphasise that Greeks are both like and unlike us; "The Greeks are distant enough for us to be able to study them as an external subject …. and yet they are sufficiently close for us to be able to communicate with them without too much

[4] Bataille (2006) 50, much of this discussion has been greatly influenced by Bataille's study into sex and taboo.
[5] For a brief summary of Bataille and his themes, see Poster (2000) 77. For a detailed assessment of his life and works, see Surya (2002).
[6] Bataille *The Impossible* 40, for translation see Noys (2000) 10.
[7] Noys (2000) 20, Bataille *Encyclopaedia Acephalica.*
[8] Bataille (2006) 36.
[9] Bataille (2006) 16.

difficulty".[10] This perspective is grounded in a particular concept of the Greeks as something knowable to us. Indeed, in Foucault's three part exploration of sexuality, he conceives of the body as "totally imprinted by history", meaning that the body is a thing subject to change and experienced through social constructions.[11] Bataille has no time for any historical attitudes. His approach is a generalised and radical one, based upon a concept of human nature and the role of art in human life. He is concerned with experience; the experience of the subversive image as an attempt at transgression. It is from this experienced based perspective that Bataille is useful to think with. Throughout this entire study the focus has been upon experience; how was the vase experienced within specific relational contexts? What aspects of the vase determined experience? What is the viewing experience of images which informed the viewer's identity? And here, what is the experience of images which attempt to engage with, but cannot pass beyond the impulse to transgress? Let us turn to a brief exploration of transgression and taboo, using Bataille's emphasis upon the violence inherent in eroticism.

To experience visual erotica as both an artist and viewer is to enjoy the pretence of wilfully ignoring the universal taboo against sexual liberty and violence. According to Bataille, transgression is a violent attempt at breaking a sexual taboo. Violence is beyond language and beyond representation; however the ability to experience violence is an essential freedom but impossible. The erotica discussed here encounters the taboo against sex and violence, but falls short of transgression, as such imagery relates to socially acceptable desire. The experience of this type of erotica allows the transgressive urge to be kept at a safe distance. The artist and viewer are too passive to transgress, encouraged to desire through social expectations. At its core, the universal taboo, defined by Bataille, is a social law induced by fear of behaviour that is detrimental to work and economic stability, common to all humanity. The taboo is universal – but the prohibitions vary in each society. Transgression is an extreme state which conflicts with the functioning of society, and therefore has to emerge outside social values. To transgress the taboo is to acknowledge it as law, violate it, and then, in the words of Bataille; "trespass into a forbidden field of behaviour".[12] This makes true freedom possible. Permission to transgress – a contradiction in itself - is experienced during times of feasts and festivals that celebrate transgressive behaviour, whilst simultaneously

[10] Vernant (2006) 14.
[11] Foucault (1986a) 83, see also Foucault (1978) and (1985) in particular for sexuality in the ancient world. In direct opposition to Foucault's analysis, see Davidson (2008).
[12] Bataille (2006) 80.

experiencing terror and fascination in the knowledge of their violation. Yet, this too is socially constrained. The images examined here are pornography, not the representation of transgression. This means that they appear on the cusp of transgression, combining violence and sexual liberty, but their popularity and mass circulation suggests the use of a conventional language of desire.

Pornography is driven by popularisation and the mass market in democratic society.[13] It is not a representation of sexuality, but a practice of representation. In the words of Kappeler; "Pornography is not a special case of sexuality; it is a form of representation".[14] Pornography does not reflect sexual practices, but a commercially viable concept of culture. There is no reality here, just the influence of the dominant ideology of desire; in our case, the desire of an Athenian male citizen. Images and themes changed as a representational practice, which did not coincide with actual changes to sexual practice.

What does this mean for the experience of the erotic vase painting? The surface of the vase produces an ideal venue for the representational practice of erotica. First of all, as stated above, the vase was the most mass produced object intended for use within private relational contexts, such as the home and gifts at shrines and graves. Although outside the realm of public art in the sense of official control of its content, the surface of the vase permitted a relative freedom to explore. However challenging an erotic image may appear, the imagination of artist and viewer are still constrained by the social conventions of desire. This is not Bataille's idea of freedom. The physicality of the vase did offer something of a contradiction when decorated with erotic imagery; the vase was essentially useful, whereas the image is for pure entertainment and pleasure. This mixture of purpose and pleasure in one object creates a tension, and out from this tension the experience of the painted vase as both arises. The viewer experiences two forms of representation; the abstraction of the female figure as an erotic object, and the abstraction of the male figure as a personification of the phallus. Returning to the relational context, the experience of the erotic vase painting is generally assumed to have been in the symposium.[15] This context, like the feasts and festivals referred to Bataille, permitted sexual exploration. And yet, this experience stops short of transgression, as the viewer's desire is limited to conventional sexual urges. This is not to suggest that unconventional sexual acts did not occur, but that they were not part of the representational

[13] Hunt (1993) 11-13, 24.
[14] Kappeler (1986) 2.
[15] For an example of the effect on this context on interpretation, see Lissarrague (1990) in particular. Stewart (1997)156, suggests that erotica is influenced by the sympotica discourse.

practice. It is what the viewer is not shown that occupies the margins.

Transgression of taboo is by its nature beyond the boundaries of representation and language. It can never form a social part of an identity, and it can never be framed by society. Therefore, transgression has to occur in an open-ended space; somewhere beyond context and without social order. It is something uncertain, ambiguous, hidden and un-representable. The erotica considered here can be put into two catagories; explicit and implicit erotica. Explicit erotica which represents the fulfilment and gratification of conventional desire is pornographic in nature, either encouraging imitation or absolving sexual urges.[16] Implicit erotica refers to the un-representable; something which occurs in a space without context, and leaves the viewer wondering what will be the outcome. As discussion progresses from explicit erotica to implicit, we shift towards freedom that Bataille bestows to make transgression possible, but the viewer is not permitted to know the outcome.

Gratification And Control

Images of explicit heterosexual sex on figured vases were particularly popular between 525-475 B.C, with over sixty examples of red-figure erotica surviving. Sex scenes do occur on earlier black-figure vases, and generally involve groups having sex in the sympotic context.[17] These scenes reflect the desire of the dominant male citizen. As such, these images of conventional desire come closest to our concept of pornography. A variety of erotic activity is shown, from full blown copulation to violence upon the female body. There is a tendency to emphasise the degradation of the female body, which suggests that such representations engaged with a language of conventional desire.[18]

In an attempt to understand this relatively short lived representational practice as a manifestation of Athenian society, scholars have contextualised explicit erotica within the symposium; the archetypal homosocial masculine experience. The symposium has been explored in this study as two separate phenomena; the first archaeological in Chapter One, and the second iconographical in Chapter Four. As a representational practice, the symposium provided a context

[16] Feminist perspectives sees pornography as dangerous and encouraging imitation, whereas free pornography advocates the role of fantasy, see Kappeler (1986) 1.
[17] See Stewart (1997) 156-162 for discussion of black-figure sex scenes.
[18] Sutton (1994) 7 and Stewart (1997)156, 162-5.

for the pursuit of pleasure and consumption. Additionally, some scholars view explicit erotica as illustrative of Athenian attitudes to sexuality.[19] However, in Kappeler's study of pornography, she cautions against approaching such erotica as reflections of a new vein of sexuality, or as reflections of reality.[20] As such, our engagement with this material comes from the perspective of experience and the power of the image. The connection between meaning, context and the user of erotic Athenian vase painting is complex. Up to now, the excavations of the Agora have made no discoveries of graphic erotic scenes.[21] Furthermore heterosexual intercourse scenes rarely appear in Athenian households. More subtle erotica is far more common. This raises a complex issue beyond the scope of this study, to explore the consumer mind of this market. Perhaps explicit erotica was produced for the export market alone and intended to interact with a perceptions of Athenian sexuality held outside Athens itself. This is yet another point which reaffirms the workings of these images as representational practices, not the realities of Athenian sexual life.

In sharp contrast to the predominance of heterosexual scenes, representations of homosexual intercourse are rare on red-figure vases, equating to less than 5% of pederastic scenes. This reticence on behalf of the painter suggests that even in this private medium, unconscious social constraint prevented artistic freedom.[22] Images which do represent consumptive homosexuality – meaning full blown intercourse - are cautionary, rather than celebratory.[23] Far more common than both are images of gift-giving and courtship, which had an important impact upon the later visual language of heterosexual courtship scenes.[24] Although no doubt influenced by social constraints regarding homosexuality, it is evident that the female body offers more to the artist as a sexual tool.

Generally speaking, the majority of erotica occur on drinking cups. The cup varied greatly in size from 12cms in diameter, to up to 46cms.[25] The impact of size was discussed in Chapter One, here it is important to consider the factors which made the cup the ideal vessel for conveying constructed sexuality. The surface provides at least two areas for imagery on the exterior and the tondo provides an internal flat space. The artist could paint a continuous narrative on the exterior,

[19] Sutton (1994) 7, Shapiro (1994) 53 and Stewart (1997) 156, Kilmer (1993) 1.
[20] See footnote 15.
[21] For a discussion of this issue, see Lynch (2009) 159-165
[22] Lear and Cantarella (2010) 106. Here we are reminded of Bataille's statement about freedom and transgression, see footnote 7.
[23] Davidson (2008) 444.
[24] For example, Leningrad 4224, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: GR12.1927, London, BM: E51. Stewart (1997) 157.
[25] Measurements taken from Schreiber (1999) 149.

encouraging the user to rotate the vessel to follow the narrative. As the user continued to drink from the vessel, the tondo would gradually reveal a continuation of the narrative, or a surprise. The regular sized cup could be held in one hand, by the foot or handles, and required the user to draw it close to the body. Additionally, the abundance of cups manufactured, as well as their relatively small size, required more variety for the user and the possibility of owning several cups for different times of use. Explicit erotica was intended for a male viewer, and most likely, within the sympotic context; "The utensils for the symposium were probably stored in the men's part of the house, and their decorations clearly were not fashioned for the eyes of women and children."[26] This statement by Keuls does not account for the practicalities of everyday life. The use of "women" by Keuls needs to be qualified. Clearly this refers to the ideal wife, leisured rather than conducting domestic duties, and also women would have seen these vessels, but these women would have been entertainers and sex workers.

Our first cup demonstrates how conventional sexuality was represented through an exaggerated emphasis on gratification and objectification. The cup provided an ideal surface for this type of erotica. A red-figure cup, now in Florence, dates to the first quarter of fifth century, and signed by the Brygos Painter, depicts a continuous scene of group sex (fig.5.1).[27] Amongst the examples of erotica on the pained vase, the Florence cup stands out as exceptional in its objectification of the female body. The tondo depicts two figures, a bearded man wearing a myrtle wreath, a cloak and carrying a stick (not illustrated). The cloak only covers his sides, fully exposing his genitals. He turns towards his companion, a fully clothed female with short cropped hair, wearing a myrtle wreath and playing a flute. She meets his gaze as he restricts her movement with his stick. The user would be gradually confronted with this image, encouraging them to reflect upon their own choices. This is literally a pause in time, the moment of anxiety before the beginning of sexual gratification.

Side A depicts eight figures; a group of three, two couples and an interesting figure who stands to the side, holding a lamp (fig.5.1). Suspended in a gap is a basket, and in another a garment, and a flute case, alluding to the clothed female in the tondo. Is this female in the centre threatened by a bearded man with a stick the same woman? The male does not meet her gaze, as she holds her hands out frantically trying to prevent the attack. His erection level with her head

[26] Keuls (1993) 165.
[27] Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 3921.

suggests he demands fellatio. To the side of this couple a female is sandwiched between two bearded males, one supports himself on her head and back whilst penetrating her from behind and a second fragmentary male, partly cloaked and retaining his stick, directs her to practice fellatio. The other couple practice frontal facing sex as he supports her body and brings her legs over his shoulders. Eye contact could suggest her enjoyment in the sex. A mysterious male, fully cloaked, with a stick and myrtle wreath, and holding a lamp, stands to the side observing the scene open-mouthed. He is the spectator and his gaze is doubled by the lamp, the third eye, which emphasises the voyeurism of the viewer.[28] Kilmer suggests that the figure indicates disapproval of what he sees, however this is down to the viewer's interpretation.[29]

Side B depicts a similar distribution of couples; two groups of three and a group of two figures (not illustrated). In the centre a bearded male holds either a club or a sandal which he seems about to bring down on the female, who is bent down on all fours. Kilmer suggests that the sandal is "not a formidable weapon", and denotes only mild sadism.[30] The female leans on a striped cushion with a flute case suspended overhead, and a kottabos stand is directly behind the male. These objects act as visual markers to contextualise the scene in the symposium. In front of her another male is either dancing in protest or joy, or is about to kick her.[31] Behind him another male holds a second figure whilst presumably having sex, this corner is fragmentary. However, a stick and cloak leaning is visible as if against a wall - the discarded marks of the citizen. Finally, the last group is similarly fragmentary, a booted figure, apparently without a beard, reaches towards two figures, who are only visible from the legs below. The most obvious contrasts in side B to side A is that none of the figures are wearing myrtle wreaths, and the spectator figure has thrown off his cloak and stick, and become one of the party. Boots are frequently shown discarded in sympotic scenes.[32] When the guest comes in from the outside, he removes his boots. The booted figure on side B confuses our understanding of context as inside, to outside. The wreaths on side A suggest the symposium, but there are no visual markers which clearly denote the context.

Images of explicit sex are always controversial and provocative. The Florence cup has been particularly divisive in scholarship. Published in the same year, the works of Kilmer and Keuls

[28] Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) 90.
[29] Kilmer (1993) 171.
[30] Kilmer (1993) 128.
[31] A youth is depicted lifting his legs and arms in a similar way in a violent erotic scene on a cup by Onesimos; Basel BS 440. Its meaning is obscure.
[32] See following for examples of abandoned boots; Munich, Antikensammlungen: J371, London, British Museum: 1848.6-19.7, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 3949.

offer two different interpretations of the scenes. Kilmer suggests that the sandal brandished against the bent over female on side B denotes only mild sadism, and is "not a formidable weapon".[33] Kilmer does concede that; "…forcible rape is violence, whatever the sex of the victim, and is quite outside the range of excesses allowed even in the extraordinary context of the symposium".[34] For Kilmer, the Florence cup is outside conventional behaviour, and certainly should not be contextualised in the reality of the symposium. Keuls uses this vessel as an illustration of her overall approach to the Athenian masculine world. The central female figure on side A is to Keuls "the most pathetic female in Classical art" as she tries to please a male in order to stop an attack.[35] She is a hopeless image of female repression. Kilmer argues for the unconventionality of the image, whereas Keuls perceives it as a reflection of wider social values.

It is difficult to tell whether an image such as this is violent or not. To Keuls, the image is definitely violent, but how can we really tell? As contemporary viewers, we need to be aware of our own perceptual filters. By using Bataille's theory of taboo and transgression, we can move beyond this. The experience of violent eroticism had to be free from all boundaries; boundaries of representation and conventionalism. The Brygos Painter did not break these boundaries, the image is explicit, but the erotic is conventional. The Florence cup depicts the female body as a sexual tool which submits to violent sexual subjugation. Such violent acts are not done to women as women, but as what women represent to social order and in this way, the female body is not represented as a natural object, but as the body politic used to encourage reflection upon social relations. Even to depict female desire, or pleasure, was to blur the boundaries between public and private and to provoke a reaction of defilement and disgust, turning only into desire when violently subjugated by the dominant citizen male to repress the possibility of threat.[36] Consequently, eroticism travels through women as objects in such scenes, and their likely identity as prostitutes contributes to the eroticism of the image.

The citizen males are the aggressors whose violence suppresses those outside the dominant discourse. By depicting wish-fulfilment rather than everyday erotic activity, the painter contends with the joy of attempting, but failing, to break taboo.[37] However, such representations of

[33] Kilmer (1993) 128.
[34] Kilmer (1997) 139.
[35] Keuls (1993) 182; see also Keuls (1993)180-2, Sutton (1994) 12, Frontisi-Ducroux (1996).
[36] Tennenhouse (1989) 77, Hunt (1991) 1-10.
[37] Kilmer (1993) 214.

oppressive sexual difference take a risk. Images can alienate and confront the viewer with a dangerous self-reflection which is further emphasised in the nature of desire as an anxious state in itself. These citizen males are aggressively trying to regain the object of desire, which will always remain at a distance from them; such is the turtle and the hare nature of desire. Their attempt to subjugate the female body will not last and comes at a cost; each of the males, even the spectator, ultimately succumbs to reductive desire which transforms them into subjects of the sex drive. Therefore, the knowledge that such acts can give no lasting satisfaction imbues the image with an overriding sense of panic, anxiety and terror, whilst as the same times, allowing the viewer a certain level of gratification. The viewing experience is always one of fracture between partial identification with the scene and a reaction of pleasure and distrust, and in the case of the Florence cup, we are uncertain as to the viewer's response.[38]

A red-figure cup, now in Paris, by the Pedieus Painter, dated to the last quarter of the sixth century, a century before the Florence cup, depicts a similar scene of continuous group sex (fig.5.2a).[39] On side A of the Paris cup, two sets of figures engage in explicit sex; two male figures, one youth and one adult, hold a female on a kline whilst the youth forces fellatio and the adult penetrates her and raises a sandal to her. A second group consists of a youth forcing fellatio on a crouched female whilst another figure most likely penetrates her from behind, the cup is fragmentary so it is difficult to be sure. On side B, three ithyphallic youths engage with three females, and two of the youths brandish a lamp stand and a keras (not illustrated). The tondo of the Paris cup depicts a youth embracing a female lyre-player (fig.5.2b). He holds a cup and a stick, and his drape reveals his genitals. The lyre-player is clothed, but a nipple sticks out suggestively. She wears boots but the bare feet of the male suggests she has just arrived from the outside. Like tondo in the Florence cup, the viewer is asked as the dregs of wine disappear, was this the prelude to the action of the sides? The most interesting aspect to this tondo is the frontal facing youth. Frontality communicates with the viewer by underscoring the voyeurism, whilst at the same time encouraging the viewer to identify with the desire of the figure and its object.[40] The eyes of the male allow the viewer to become like them.[41]

The style of the Paris cup is highly patterned and controlled. The sharp angles of the bodies

[38] Rose (1986) 227, Kilmer (1993) 128.
[39] Paris, Musée du Louvre: G13.
[40] Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) 85-89.
[41] Hedreen (2007) 218, 236.

on the exterior are reminiscent of Geometric shapes and patterns. This subconscious mimicking of the Geometric systematic style reflects the desire for control at the moment of rampancy. Even during the most violent expressions of sexual desire, the need for control imbues the pattern. Herein lies a contradiction, an image which may be interpreted as transgressing the taboo against sexual liberation, is subconsciously controlled by a socially motivated need for constraint. Without complete freedom, transgression is impossible.

The similarities between the erotica of the Paris cup and the Florence cup, even though a considerable time apart, are marked. However, the Paris cup has significant differences, for instance, rather than depicting the action itself, the Pedieus Painter depicts the moment before full penetration takes place, as though something more is to come. And secondly, the physical differentiation of the figure is limited to the penis, which is strikingly emphasised. The females have breasts, but their short cropped hair matches the youth, which distracts the viewer and requires a second look. The Paris cup confronts the violence and physical extremes of desire. Pleasure itself is not the aim of such representations, although this does occur in examples of single couples, often in the tondo of the cup.[42]

Representations of homosexual intercourse, as mentioned earlier, are rare on red-figure vases. When representations occur, they tend to be more graphic in black-figure examples, and are often interpreted negatively or as immoderate.[43] A black-figure amphora, now in Orvieto, by the Tyrrhenian Group, dated between 575-525 B.C depicts a frieze of homosexual intercourse (fig.5.3).[44] Five ithyphallic adult males wait their turn as one male is about to penetrate a prostrate bearded male. The waiting males seem to be gesticulating to negotiate their turn whilst the prostrate male is forced into a very uncomfortable position. Behind the male to our far right is a krater, which acts as a visual marker of communal drinking, perhaps contextualising the activity in the symposium. Lear describes such scenes as debased and orgiastic, in which the figures engaging in sex show a "lack of self-respect".[45] This interpretation is based upon the approach that representations and engagement in homosexual activity is immodest and breaks with the codes of the Athenian model, however, Davidson emphasises that it is not the sex per se that is intrinsically

[42] For example, see Boston MA 1970.233, New Haven 163, London BM E816.
[43] Lear and Cantarella (2010) 106-138, "anal intercourse… an object of dispraise or humor" 106.
[44] Orvieto, Museo Civico, Coll. Faina: 2664.
[45] Lear and Cantarella (2010) 127.

"ugly", it depends upon the object of passion and the context.[46] The Orvieto amphora works with the same gratification principles as red-figure examples which it precedes.

Side B of a red-figure cup, now in Turin, in the manner of the Epeleios Painter, dated between 525-475 B.C depicts a rare example of homosexual intercourse or at least, a reference to it (fig.5.4).[47] On side A, youths naked and draped, take part in a komos and drink wine poured from a wine skin (not illustrated). The naked bodies of the youths are fully exposed to the viewer, and the drapes or chlamys only cover this shoulder and arms. Side B depicts the result of all that wine. The frontal gaze of the youth encourages the viewer to experience his desire, as he rubs his penis between two bent over youths. The frontal gaze emphasises the intoxication of the youth and drags the viewer into his world. The tip of the penis also faces the viewer, and intends to represent what always occurs outside the gaze. On both sides of the Turin cup, the movement of the mostly naked youths are exaggerated. It is difficult to decide whether the youths outside the centre on side A are horrified or excited by the action of the frontal facing youth. Only one other youth has an erection, suggesting that there still remains a certain amount of control. A youth on both sides of the cup makes a particular type of gesture, discussed here as the shield gesture. This is returned to below in relation to the gesture used in hunting scenes and erotic pursuit. Here, we consider the shield gesture as setting a temporary barrier between the intercourse and the body of the youth making the gesture. The youth is not necessary repulsed by the intercourse, quite the opposite, however, he wishes to protect himself against temptation. The gesture of the youth communicates to the viewer's perhaps mixed feeling regarding this representation – fantasy and disapproval.

The explicit examples of visual erotica discussed here responses to the need for gratification and control in depictions of desire. The painter works with a fantasy to create a voyeuristic and hostile representation of the sexual impulse, which is successfully experienced by the viewer through the figures in the scene. The pleasure involved is purely from a male perspective and transforms the female body into a sexual tool with which the male viewer can assert dominance and force submission. The Florence cup in particular evokes both the viewer's pleasure by objectifying the female body, and the horror of being subject to desire by depicting acts which are enjoyable but lack permanence and subject a part of the male body to an impulse they cannot control. It would be

[46] Davidson (2008) 420.
[47] Turin, Museo di Antichita: 4117.

a mistake to consider the Florence cup as either negative or positive. Alternatively, we must recognise such visual erotica as working through the pleasure and horror of desire. This experience of visual erotica is acutely affected by the taboo against sexual liberty and violence.[48] However, the examples so far discussed are not illustrations of transgression. They appear aggressive and objectifying, meaning that they are pornographic, rather than transgressive. Transgression breaks all boundaries and must occur outside social order. It is continuous without end, something which cannot be perceived through our social filters. Explicit visual erotica has an end, which may not be represented, but is certain, clear and apprehensible. The figures in these scenes are not transgressing, they are gratifying their desire at that moment. The vase, in particular the cup, is an object through which eroticism travels. We have considered the meaning and impact of the iconography of the vase, now attention is focused on the significance of vase painting itself, as a unique medium, and as an object which intrudes into the image and communicates desire.

Erotics of Physicality

The vase permits the viewer to experience a three-dimensional physicality. Rather than seeing a flat image upon a wall, the vase encourages the viewer to explore its surfaces. Sculpture is an obvious example of a visual medium which maps out every curve and contour of the human body as a surface. The sculpture needs to be viewed from all angles. Generally speaking, the sculpture is not small enough to hold and is most often a public medium. The vase however, is small enough to hold and draw to the body, and is destined for the private relational context. This physicality and contextual intimacy between viewer and vase is exploited by erotica.

Regardless of the image, the vase had to interact with the viewer when in use. For example, the cup had to be held in the hand and brought to the mouth when sipping wine and touched by the lips. The krater had to be visited each time the drinker wanted more wine. Used in the home, tavern or communal drinking context, the vase functioned as an extension of the body. An artist interested in depicting erotica would not have to stretch their imagination to make a connection between the physicality of the vase, and the human body. Features of the vase were manipulated into physical attributes, even in terminology, as Lissarrague explains; “Just as we speak of vases in anatomical terms – neck, belly, shoulder, foot, lip – the Greeks spoke of a vase’s

[48] Kilmer (1993) 173.

'ears' (*ota*, its handles), head (*kephale*), face (*prosopon*), and lips (*cheile*)".[49]

Some scholars have suggested that erotica painted on vases was representative of sexual practices at the time.[50] However, this approach fails to place sufficient distance between the image, and social realities. Erotica and pornography are not illustrative of new or different sexual practices; they are in fact a representational practice, constructions of desire used to excite the viewer.[51] Here, discussion departs from an approach based upon the meaning of representation and society, and adopts an understanding of the vase – its images and three-dimensionality – as an appendix to the human body. Two types of image is considered and one type of manipulated form in an attempt to emphasise the erotic physicality of the vase.

The Pointed Amphora

A red-figure squat lekythos, now in New York, is an example of the possibilities of imbued eroticism in basic images. In the previous chapter, we saw how iconographic vessels carried an imbued meaning, resulting from their common use in particular images. In this case, discussion focuses upon the iconographic pointed amphora, which has erotic connotations. The New York lekythos depicts a single pointed amphora leaning against a prop, with an ivy garland suggesting festivity and symposia (fig.5.5).[52] The lekythos is miniature sized, measuring only 7.4cms high, containing a very small amount of liquid, suggesting use as an offering, rather than a practice vessel. The image is as figuratively basic as the Copenhagen pyxis which depicts a single krater (fig.4.1), evoking consumption and desire.[53] The New York lekythos similarly depicts a vessel with strong visual connections to consumption and symposia. Iconographic pointed amphorae are frequently depicted being carried by youths at a *komos,* discarded in a communal drinking scene, or being drunk from by a single figure.[54] The viewing experience of this lekythos draws upon the viewer's understanding that the iconographic pointed amphora embodies practices of consumption. In this case, the pointed amphora represents the end of a night of consumption; desire all spent up and energies depleted.

Further examples of the iconographic pointed amphora allude to or represent desire.[55] A

[49] Lissarrague (1990) 56.
[50] Sutton (1992) 3 and Kilmer (1993) 1.
[51] Kappler (1986) 2.
[52] New York, Gallatin 13227.
[53] Copenhagen, National Museum 953, see previous chapter for a discussion.
[54] See following for examples of pointed amphora in drinking scenes; Wurzburg, Universitat, Martin von Wagner Mus.: HA425, Brussels, Musees Royaux: R264, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: 95.27.
[55] For two clear examples, see Palmero V651 and an example now lost.

red-figure tondo on a black-figure cup exemplifies the most erotic use for a pointed amphora by transforming its physicality into an aspect of the human body. The cup, now in Palermo, painted by Skythes in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C, renders a satyr inserting his penis into a pointed amphora (fig.5.6).[56] A kalos-inscription evokes the beauty of an Epilykos. The name Epilykos is found in nineteen kalos-inscriptions, and fourteen of these appear on vases by Skythes.[57] Evidently, this family was well known in Athens, and had a personal connection with this painter. However, the association between the kalos-inscription and the image is ambiguous, or at the very least, humorous. Although the tondo is fragmentary, the tail of the satyr stands out as he holds the pointed amphora at its pointed end to simulate sex, substituting for an orifice. The viewer may well have been surprised and most definitely amused when drinking the last few sips of wine from the cup as the tondo has no obvious connection with the exterior scene of winged women, perhaps Nikes. A second later example of a satyr and a pointed amphora is less explicitly erotic. A red-figure oinochoe, now in Sarajevo, by the Talos painter and made in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C, depicts the figure of a satyr sitting on top of a pointed amphora, apparently riding it (fig.5.7).[58] The painted scene surrounding the mouth of the oinochoe depicts Hermes watching the quarrel between Heracles and Apollo over the Delphic tripod, which sits on top of the satyr, on top of the pointed amphora. Although his penis is not inserted into the mouth of the pointed amphora, his posture and gritted teeth suggest excitement. In Lissarrague's words; "The satyr's amphora is no longer a vase but a vehicle, and the statue becomes the prop for a vase."[59] A third example, as explicit as the Palermo cup, depicts a flute-girl sitting on the pointed end of a pointed amphora, and represents one of the only surviving examples of a human using a vase as a sexual substitute (fig.5.8).[60] On the tondo of the cup, the flute-girl balances on the mouth end of a pointed amphora on the floor, her toes press against the edges of the scene and she holds two flutes, one in each hand. She is completely naked, except for two bracelets on her wrists and she wears her hair down with a garland in the front. Her pleasure in using the pointed end is not outspoken, but her posture and her gaze out towards the viewer is an invitation to imagine.

Other examples are more subtle in their erotic content. A red-figure cup, now in Orvieto, by

[56] Palermo, Museo Nazionale V651.
[57] For a detailed discussion of Epilykos kalos-inscriptions, see Shapiro (1983) 305-310.
[58] Sarajevo, National Museum: 654.
[59] Lissarrague (1990) 53.
[60] Lost, see Kilmer (1993) R114.

the Antiphon painter, dated between 490-475 B.C, depicts a naked woman lying down and lifting a pointed amphora as large as her torso to her mouth to drink (fig.5.9).[61] The woman is propped up by a cushion and lifts the pointed amphora as two men stand either side of her and watch her drink. Due to the fragmentary nature of the scene, it is difficult to tell whether both male figures are dressed the same, but it seems that both wear nothing except a loosely draped cloak and walking stick – the dress of a citizen. The male behind her has an erection. The scene on side A of the cup again depicts two draped youths with a female between them, this time they are engaged in more direct sexual activity (not illustrated). Although the use of the pointed amphora in this scene is not explicitly erotic, the combination of alcohol, voyeurism and the female bringing a heavy vessel to her mouth, along with the side A, imbues the use of the pointed amphora with a physicality that cannot help being eroticised.

Several cups with single individuals, satyrs and youths, bending or lying alongside a pointed amphora, rely upon the viewer to ask; what is going to happen next? For example, a red-figure cup, now in Kassel, by the Group of Adria B 300, dated to c.510 B.C, depicts a lone youth lying beside a pointed amphora (fig.5.10).[62] His legs are open to expose his genitals and he holds both his leg and touches the pointed amphora, his head leans to the side as he gazes out at the viewer. This subtle eroticism implies the possibilities of what comes next. A final example works on a similar premise of suggestion; a red-figure askos, unattributed, dated between 450-400 B.C, depicts two scenes of a satyr and a pointed amphora (fig.5.11).[63] Askoi are small round vessels, used to carry wine, much like animal skins. The two satyrs have different postures, (perhaps the same one in different stages) one satyr props up the full pointed amphora, whilst the second lies it down as he repositions himself. Many surviving examples of askoi depict an animal pursuing its prey, in this case the satyr has caught his prey, but the viewer is uncertain what he intends to do now he has finished the wine. The possible uses for the pointed amphora do not end when the wine runs out.

The physicality of the pointed amphora – its narrow mouth, handled neck, pointed end and round shape – lends itself to substitution for the human body. The possible associations of an iconographic pointed amphora cannot be prescribed to a straightforward interpretation. The viewer

[61] Orvieto Museo Civico 585.
[62] Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Antikensammlung: T504.
[63] Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst.: S1700.

would have either seen images which illustrate the erotic possibilities of the pointed amphora, and be fully aware of its suggestive physicality, which can act as an amusing and arousing substitute for both a penis and vagina. However, conventions of representation mean that as far as I have been able to find, no representations survive of a male figure explicitly using a pointed amphora as a penis or vagina substitute. Perhaps this behaviour goes beyond the boundaries of the representational. The viewer could imagine how the male would use the pointed amphora, but to do it, or even imagine doing it is far too debased. The satyr has no such qualms in inverting conventions, they are meaningless to him. The female does not understand them. Something of the erotic physicality of the pointed amphora and its connection to dominant male desire goes beyond representation, something hidden but acknowledged – a transgression.

The Phallus-Footed Cup

The need to touch a cup and draw it close to the body gave it an increased intimacy with the viewer/user. No other vessel requires contact with the lips. When used, the cup became an extension of the body, or an attribute of the body's physicality. In the case of the iconographic pointed amphora, the physicality of the vase was sexualised; the phallus-footed cup however, expounds a very different from of physicality. It performed the reverse. Rather than having features that encourage sexual desire, the physicality of the phallus-footed cup was altered to incorporate human anatomy. This change in the features of the cup acknowledged the viewer's erotic experience derived by touch.

During the earlier period of black-figure painting, painters occasionally incorporated human anatomy, notably the penis, into a physical feature of the vase. This practice in genital additions to vases occurs in the Geometric period through Greece, noticeably in East Greece.[64] Focusing particularly on the phallus-footed cup, this type of vase has survived in several examples from the black-figure period and a couple in red-figure. It takes two forms; as a phallus-footed cup, when the foot of the cup is replaced by the form of male genitals, and secondly as a figure or plastic vase, which takes the full shape of the male genitals. This alteration had an important effect upon the relationship between the vase and user, as explained by Lissarrague; "It then becomes difficult to call such an object a mere vessel. Its practical function is subsumed by the anatomical illusion it

[64] Boardman (1976) 288-289.

engenders, and in bringing it to his mouth the drink is explicitly drawn into an erotic game."[65]

A black-figure phallus-footed cup, now in Oxford, attributed to the Manner of Lysippides, dated to 520 B.C, and famously named the "curious eye cup" by Boardman, is our first example.[66] Before we consider these painted sides, the size of the cup is worth our attention. Measuring from 12.5cms in height and 34cms in diameter, the Oxford cup is an impressive size. This transforms the phallus-foot into an exaggerated life size. The cup depicts satyrs heads between eyes surrounding the outside (fig.5.12a) and a sympotic scene, edged by vines and surrounding a *gorgoneion* in the tondo (fig.5.12b). The large eyes, almost a hand span, land either side of the mask or head of a satyr, who looks straight out towards the viewer. It is almost as though the cup becomes a mask for the viewer to wear. [67] The *gorgoneion* in the tondo reinforces this frontal facing gaze. The terrifying mask of the gorgon, its wide smiling and open mouth, its tongue protruding, addresses the unconscious fears of man; "in the gaze of a gorgon who renders a man frigid as stone and unmans him".[68] The fear of the gorgon is the fear of desire. And so, by demanding that the viewer confronts the mask which provokes fear, the fear dissipates and viewer can continue to enjoy desire and consumption, which the surrounding sympotic scene suggests. The sympotic group are reclined and each is engaged in different activities, one drinker in particular is interacting with a very small youth, who personifies the desire of the drinkers.

Interpretations of this cup have emphasised the Dionysian and apotropaic role of the phallus.[69] Indeed, the phallus did not always have to mean penis. This Oxford cup must be considered in this way. However, to suggest that the phallus-footed cup had no sexual dimension is to ignore the realities of its physicality. Osborne suggests that the missing foot, replaced by a phallus, mirrors the symposiasts in the tondo, who also have no feet, suggesting that they have a penis instead.[70] The phallus-foot supports the cup when not held by the viewer, but when it is held, the viewer is encouraged to touch and grope the phallus, as though it was a man. Homosexual intercourse is represented through a tight visual language. The phallus-foot makes a joke of this impulse. The eyes and phallus foot combine to emphasise touch and sight, scopic and sexual

[65] Lissarrague (1990) 56.
[66] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1974.344, Boardman (1976) 281.
[67] Lissarrague (1990) 57 and Boardman (1976) 288.
[68] Howe (1956) 221, see this article for brief and interesting discussion about the Gorgon.
[69] Boardman (1976) 288 and Cohen (2006) 258.
[70] Osborne (1998) 133, cup discussed 133-135.

impulses, and reduces the human male to an attribute to the power of sexual desire.[71] In Cohen's interpretation, she concedes this point; "This cup's foot would surely have heightened the eroticised atmosphere of a male drinking party".[72]

A black-figure phallus-footed cup, now in Paris, dated between 525-475 B.C, draws together the representation of erotica, and a tactile erotic experience (fig.5.13).[73] Similar in size to the Oxford cup, the Paris cup measures 12cms in height and 33cms in diameter, making it one of the larger cups produced in Athens. Surrounding the outside of the cup in a continuous scene, twelve couples and one single figure engage in various forms of sexual activity. The figures are clearly differentiated by gender, the skin of the females is white, and the males dark. Vineyards surround the couples, suggesting both an outside context, and a connection with wine and Dionysus. Evidently, this orgy is taking place outside the *polis* context. The female body is used here to define the masculinity of men, who enjoy sex homosocially. However, this objectification of the female is not without their willing self-surrender; the posture of the females certainly suggests pleasure. Both genders are objectified in the Paris cup, as the males are trapped in an "endless loop of desire", pursuing the female body, only to possess it temporarily.[74] Being 'grabbed by the balls' is literalised in the phallus-foot, encouraging the user to fondle an embodiment of their desire. In the tondo, the *gorgoneion* is surrounded by a Dionysian scene, involving satyrs, maenads, mules and Dionysus himself (not illustrated). Dionysus is seated, holding up a rhyton. The other figures seem to be processing towards him. Judging by the two figures on mules, this could be a depiction of the Return of Hephastos.[75] The god was finally persuaded to return to Olympus but only once Dionysus completely intoxicated him. The combination of unbridled sex and exhaustive consumption creates an object which represents a surrender of will, and a physically which encourages this through deep bowl and phallus-foot.

A black-figure plastic aryballos, now in Boston, and dated to around 550 B.C, takes the physical form of a phallus (fig.5.14).[76] The vessel is signed by the potter Priapos, evidently a comic name. At its mouth is a depiction of a homosexual 'courtship scene', the erastes is reaching towards the unusually large erection of the eromenos and touching under his chin, a prevalent gesture in

[71] Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) 93.
[72] Cohen (2006) 258.
[73] Paris, Musée du Louvre: CP9681.
[74] Stewart (1997) 162, 150-162.
[75] See Berlin, lost: F2052, in Stewart (1997) fig, 99 for a similar example from an earlier period combines erotic activity with Dionysus, a symposium, the Gorgoneion, the eyes and the phallus-foot.
[76] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: 13.105.

homosexual scenes (not illustrated).[77] The erection of the eromenos, regardless of size, is a significant departure from conventional scenes of homosexuality, and the nude male body. This image suggests a reversal of roles, with the eromenos by the erastes, and unrestrained homosexuality. The vessel itself is tied, both by use and meaning, to the homosocial environment of the gymnasium. Athletes would oil themselves with liquid from the aryballos. Iconographically, the aryballos is connected to athletics and homosexuality. For example, a red-figure cup by the Persuasion Painter uses aryballoi to reflect an increasingly intense homosexuality.[78] The physicality of the Boston aryballos encourages the user, perhaps in the gymnasium, to grope whilst within a context where men were unclothed. The vessel is supported by the tip of the penis and the underside of the genitals, if the penis was to change firmness, the liquids inside would spill. Unlike the cups discussed above, the form of the aryballos suggests a use context outside the symposium. Here, the viewer is encouraged to feel and experience outside a tightly controlled environment.[79]

The popularity of ceramic phalloi, attached to cups and dictating the form of others, was at its high during the late sixth century and the first half of the fifth.[80] This practice did something that an image cannot do; it provided a substitute for the erotica of tactility. By disturbing the representational practice of visual erotica, and progressing from a two dimensional image to a three dimensional object, the artist and potter competed to engage with the viewer's desire.

The Disembodied Phallus

Although the three dimensional erotic vase had only a brief period of popularity, the physicality of these objects, and of the phallus, had a sustained impact upon representational practices. The phallus became a disembodied thing, depicted in various forms. Here, discussion encounters the disembodied phallus as the phallus-bird – a winged creature – and as a dildo, carried around by mainly female figures. Rather than encouraging the viewer to feel and touch, the phallus became purely representational, evocative of desire, as well as the masculine body. For example, a fragment of a red-figure cup, painted by Douris and now in Boston, illustrates the continuing

[77] For examples of this gesture and discussion, see Lear and Cantarella (2010) 168-169 for an analysis of what Lear refers to as the 'up-down-gesture.
[78] Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2279. For discussion of this cup, see Davidson (2008) 528-534
[79] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: 95.55.
[80] Boardman (1976) 289.

reference to the eyes and the phallus (fig.5.15).[81] In this case, the phallus is a large and veined iconographic feature, standing between the eyes. Rather than the satyr's mask starring out, the phallus becomes the mask for the viewer to wear. This fragment incites us to consider the meaning of the phallus.

In Johns examination of the phallus on painted vase she emphasises the purely apotropaic power of the symbol, which protects the viewer against the Evil Eye. Johns states; "It is a wholly inappropriate reaction to regard them as obscene, or even sexual".[82] This is reminiscent of Boardman's approach to the phallus-footed cups.[83] The phallus as an icon of Dionysus is explored by Csapo, who emphasises the wilfulness and power of the symbol; "The phallus is the symbol of the surging life-principle, but also an instrument of possession".[84] In other words, the phallus symbol has a will of its own, a power to possess and enslave through the rituals of Dionysus. These cultic associations are clearly imbued in the Greek experience of the phallus as an iconographic feature. However, this wilfulness allows the phallus to remind and reduce the viewer to their base identity. For example, in Osborne's analysis of the hermai, a popular statue in Athens composed of a head and penis only, he considers how the statue represented and claimed the identity of the viewer.[85] The features of the statues reduce and equalises the viewer, as Osborne states; "… it [the herm] is no less than the democratic claim that men are equal in their hermaic qualities".[86] However, we cannot ignore completely the undeniable sensuality of the phallus. Here, an interpretation is made which is context dependent. It is not possible assume that all representations of the phallus meant the same thing. In general, the phallus is decontextualised, such as in the Boston fragment. Unfortunately, the use context of the vessels can offer little help, as the majority were not discovered *in situ*. On balance, it is more appropriate to take each example on its own, and perhaps except that it is not really possible to understand the complexity of the iconographic phallus. The following examples act as illustrations of the eroticism of the phallus, and of how the representation of the female and the phallus alongside one another attempted to comment upon a construct of female desire.

On the exterior of a red-figure cup, attributed to the Palmette-Eye Group, dated to 510 B.C,

[81] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: 08.31d.
[82] Johns (1982) 75.
[83] See footnote 68.
[84] Csapo (1997) 260.
[85] Osborne (1985) 53.
[86] Osborne (1985) 53.

and now in New York, a naked female is seated on a cushion between two palmette-eyes, raising a phallus-footed cup towards her mouth (fig.5.16).[87] In height the cup measures 12.8cms, and 33.4cms in diameter; a larger than average vessel. Even though the production of phallus-footed cups ceased in the early fifth century, the physicality continued to impact upon the imagination. The phallus-footed cup in this example became an iconographical aspect of the image. Instead of the satyr's mask, a figure of a satyr, a phallus (fig.5.15) or a warrior inhibiting the space between the eyes, the New York cup intentionally refers to the practice common in black-figure, but depicts a naked female and replaces the eyes with palmette-eyes.[88] If the eyes are intended to draw the viewer into the world of the vase then we are encouraged to experience the desire and pleasure of this naked female at the sight of the phallus-footed cup. Not only does the cup provide the female with a large quantity of wine from its broad diameter, it also confronts the female with a close to life size phallus. The phallus-footed cup becomes an abstraction of the constructed sexual impulse and desire of a female, used to excite the male viewer.

A second example of an iconographic phallus addition is provided by a red-figure cup, attributed to Douris, and dated between 500-460 B.C (fig.5.17).[89] A naked female crouches beside a kline and draws the phallus spout itself to her mouth. This time the vessel is a phallus-sprouted skyphos; a deep-bowled drinking vessel. The female is all focused upon the skyphos and she draws the phallus to her mouth, drinking the wine from the phallus-sprout. In this case, the physicality of the skyphos is used to explore the sexual desire of the female. The phallus is disembodied and allows the male viewer a voyeuristic experience. Only females are depicted handling these phallus-footed vessels. As a representational practice, rather than an illustration of how these vessels were used in reality, the image of the phallus-footed vessel was used exclusively to communicate a constructed concept of female desire for the phallus. Female desire focused upon the phallus, whereas male desire perceived the entirety of the body.

Representing female pleasure and desire to the male viewer was problematic. As the majority of vases were produced by male artists, for male viewers, the depiction of female desire can only be an insight into male constructs of female desire. Female desire itself was a concern for the Greeks, and the phallus in isolation from the male body would lead the viewer to consider what

[87] New York, 56.171.61.
[88] For examples of a satyr between the eyes, see New York, 22.139.81 and New York, 1981.11.24. For an example of a warrior between the eyes, see New York 56.171.36 and Munich 2044.
[89] Unfortunately, this cup is now lost, see; Kilmer (1993) R593.

the female desired; 'they are only interested in what's between my legs'. A red-figure cup, now in London, attributed to Nikosthenes and dated between 525-510 B.C, depicts a naked female with two olisboi (fig.5.18).[90] She holds one to her open mouth and the other points towards her vagina.[91] Her eyes are drawn towards the olisboi, with a sideways glance towards the viewer. As well as lone figures, painters depict groups of women using olisboi, and one example even appears to show a female wearing a strap-on.[92] On a fragment of the tondo of a red-figure cup, now in Berlin, attributed to Paseas and dated between 520-510 B.C, a crouching naked female holds up a pot full of olisboi (fig.5.19).[93] Part of a kalos-inscription is visible above the olisboi. Perhaps better referred to as phalloi, each one has an eye, which gazes straight out at the viewer. As the viewer drank to the bottom of the cup, their eyes would meet the eyes of the phalloi, transforming the phalloi into living beings.[94] The custom of uncovering, revealing, and taking phalloi out of pots emphasises the contradiction of the hidden and the on display. The viewer is left to consider – is the phallus allowed to be seen? Although there are no large disembodied eyes on Berlin cup, the eyes have transferred onto the phalloi. The effect of representing the phallus as a disembodied object, purely for pleasurable use, blurs the boundaries between the human body, abstract anatomy and the physicality of the vase. Here, the viewer is led to question; does the female really need a man to fulfil their desire? The olisboi negotiates feelings of male anxiety, as well as stimulating their desire. A final example of this type exaggerates even the physicality of the phallus. On one side of a red-figure krater, now in Berlin, by the Pan Painter, and dated between 480-460 B.C, a naked female is shown carrying a huge veined phallus with a well-defined eye (fig.5.20).[95] Like the females on both the London cup and the Berlin fragment, there is nothing to contextualise the nakedness of these females. The viewer cannot be certain of what is happening, particularly in the Berlin krater.[96] A phallus of this size suggests a cultic function and the eye reminds the viewer of the connection between them. On the other side of the Berlin krater, a draped youth with a staff reaches out towards a Herm (not illustrated). Returning to our brief reference to hermai above, emphasis was placed upon the role of hermai as a representation of the viewer's identity – not an erotically

[90] London, BM. E815.
[91] For a similar example, see Leningrad 14611 and Cerveteri, ex M. Abatone t. 561.
[92] Once Rome, Castellani (so Vorberg), Epiktetos 520-490.
[93] Berlin, F2275.
[94] Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) 94.
[95] Berlin, VI 3206.
[96] Kilmer suggests these images have a connection with the Haloa festival, celebrated in honour of Demeter and Dionysus, (1993) 192, footnote 2.

charged statue.[97]

A fantastic creature is created when eyed-phalloi are given wings to become the phallus-bird.[98] Represented exclusively with satyrs and female figures, the phallus-bird retains a bird's body, whilst emphasising male genitalia. Much like the olisboi, the phallus-bird connects to female sexual desire and pleasure.[99] Indeed, from the Late Archaic period onwards, the phallus-bird has independent life. A red-figure pelike, excavated from the Athenian Agora, painted by Myson and dated between 500-475 B.C, depicts a fully clothed female petting a large phallus-bird, who turns its head to her hands (fig.5.21).[100] The phallus-bird has the defined body of a bird, but the scrotum is strongly emphasised. In a way unlike any of the previous images in this chapter, this clothed female may be decontextualised, but she appears 'ordinary', perhaps even a housewife. It is through the perceptive eye on the penal gland that this phallus-bird is able to communicate a construction of female pleasure and sexual desire; the domestication of desire. Here, the viewer is confronted with the erotic connotation of the domestic activity.[101] A red-figure skyphos, now in Boston, by the Shuválov Painter, and dated between 460-435 B.C, depicts a satyr and a phallus-bird (fig.5.22a/b).[102] The satyr bends towards the phallus-bird, who looks up towards the backside of the satyr, evidently the satyr is trying to direct the pleasure giving bird. Side B depicts a second phallus-bird with wings outstretched. The bird's feet still touch the floor and yet the bird ejaculates, perhaps in anticipation of stimulation. The satyr and the phallus-bird are on a parallel, both expressing male desires, and yet the combination of phallus-bird and satyr enables the viewer to explore homosexual encounters otherwise un-representable.[103] A final example of the phallus-bird demonstrates the role of the phallus-bird as, in Boardman's words, "a frank male recognition of female sexuality".[104] A red-figure pyxis, in Athens, unattributed and dated between 450-400 B.C, depicts three female genitalia as stubbed peaks, and between them is a winged phallus-bird, named Philonides (fig.5.23).[105] One of the peaks is named the flute-girl Anemone, and the Phallus-bird moves towards the peak in front. If we were unsure of the role of the phallus-bird, this image

[97] See footnote 84 and 85.
[98] See also examples of the phallus-plant, less common; London, BM E819. For floating phallus-bird see Berlin, 1996.21, which perfects reflections physical attraction, or female desire.
[99] Boardman (1992) 240.
[100] P27396.
[101] Boardman (1992) 238.
[102] Boston, MA 08.31c.
[103] Boardman (1992) 240 and Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) 94-95.
[104] Boardman (1992) 240.
[105] Athens, 2510.

presents unambiguous confirmation.

The phallus-bird reflects the masculine desire of woman. According to Frontisi-Ducroux; "The eye of the phallus may express the masculine right to look at women".[106] At the same time, the phallus constructs a version of female sexuality, dependent upon heterosexual satisfaction. Boardman explicitly states that this confrontation with female sexuality is not a threat, but it is hard to ignore the possibility of male anxiety in a world which requires men to satisfy women.[107]

The painted vase provides a surface for various illustrations of the phallus. However, the vase is not just a surface, like a canvas, it is an interactive, three dimensional object. Unlike the image, the vase permitted, encouraged and required the viewer/user to touch and hold. In this sense, an image on the vase is one step closer to being part of the human anatomy than anything else the viewer was likely to encounter. Although the images discussed here work with conventional outlets of desire, and a constructed female sexuality, they do encourage reflection on behalf of the viewer. As an independent thing, the phallus-bird communicates what is acceptable, and therefore, representable. It can be highly ambiguous, avoiding interpretation. It is from this ambiguity that we progress to the final section of this chapter, and consider, what is beyond representation, and therefore, breaking with taboo? Discussion moves from imagery which permits violent interpretations, such as the Florence cup (fig.5.1), towards a more subtle and indirect expression of violence.

The Un-Representable

Throughout the late 6th and early 5th century, a scene involving two protagonists in pursuit became popular on a wide variety of painted vases. Named by scholars as 'erotic pursuits', such scenes emit a far more subtle sexual desire than examples so far considered. From images of explicit sexual aggression to enigmatic scenes of erotic pursuit, the viewer is left uncertain as to both the intention and the eventual fate of the figures in the scene. The expression of desire alters from a gratification of the male viewer to an exploration of desire which is permeated with ambiguity.[108] The motivation behind such a change in representational practice could be accounted for by a change of

[106] Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) 94.
[107] Boardman (1992) 240.
[108] Stewart (1997) 150, 168.

taste, or perhaps a change of target audience.[109] Unlike explicit erotica discussed in the beginning of this chapter, images of erotic pursuit do not fit well under the heading of pornography. Indeed, the images themselves are comparatively tame and tasteful. However, the implicit violence which underpins the interaction between the figures continues to objectify the female to the male gaze. Although the body of the female is not naked, her gestures open out her body to the viewer. Equally, the viewer is unsure whether she will be subject to the violence suggested by the spears carried by the male. These scenes are erotic; meaning that the sexual tension between male and female is apparent, but they are not pornographic, as the feeling of anxiety and the covering of the female body, does not attempt to gratify the viewer unambigiously.

In this final section, focus is upon this hidden anxiety and violence behind desire. Although present in explicit erotica, the emphasis on the anxiety behind the use of sexual violence acts as a representation of the Drive – the desperate and unsuccessful need to reach the lost object of desire, which continually challenges a satisfication of the sexual urge.[110] By representing the Drive, rather than its temporary gratification, the viewer responds to the open-ended image. Outside a social context which would attempt to impose limits upon behaviour through the law of the taboo, it is what the viewer does not see – the un-representable – that creates the space for transgression.

To uncover this mixture of desire and anxiety, the iconography of the scene is examined, and its iconographic parallels, particularly with the hunt. Discussion begins with a brief exploration of the hunt, which worked to construct masculinity by providing an outlet for violence. Then discussion turns to our first erotic pursuit, the Krefeld stamnos, which introduces the visual language of such scenes. Several other examples are considered, which work with visions of violence and passion. Finally, the role of the broken or upturned hydria is examined, specificially in depictions of Poseidon and Amymone, as a symbol violence. Throughout this discussion, we reflect upon the role of the vase as a conveyer of violence in such scenes, and the meaning attached to the vase once damaged or disguarded. This requires an engagement with functionality.

Masculinity and the Hunt

Although little is known of hunting practices in Athens, the importance of the hunt to Athenian

[109] Sutton to suggest in his analysis of red-figure pornography that such depictions were targeted at an "emotionally based" female audience. Sutton goes on to state that the painter had a clear idea as regards the identity of the viewer of the vase due to its shape and intended context (1992) 6.
[110] Rose (1986) 56-57.

identity continued long after it was a means of survival. Participation in hunting had a particular connection to aristocratic values of manhood and athleticism. The hunt worked to construct male gender, a practice where men could prove themselves worthy of their citizenship and status. As a specifically regulated performance, rather than a concrete reality, the practice of hunting had a big impact upon painted vases, from 600 B.C, until the end of the 5th century, with particular emphasis upon non-mythical hunts of boar and deers, involving groups of ephebes.[111] The focus on the ephebe ties into the state requirement of the proof of manhood, expressed through marriage and involvement in the hoplite phalanx. Depiction of the hunting ephebe is a visual construction of the struggles to maturity in manhood, rather than a straight forward celebration of glory. The status of the ephebe remains ambigiuous until he obtains his goals, without them he remained marginal, expressing both the order and disorder of social life.[112] Erotic pursuit is iconographically and atmospherically connected to the identity of the ephebe and the passion and violence of the hunt.

The correspondence between the hunt and love is a well established metaphor. The beloved is a pursued animal, in danger of being caught falling in love with the passionate and maddened lover. Scenes of courtship on figured vases often make explicit reference to the metaphor between the hunt and love, this is particularly apparent in scenes of pederastic courtship, in which the erastes presents the eromenos with gifts as a token of their love and appreciation. Such gifts can take the form of hares and cocks, and hunting dogs stand to the side of the scene. The characteristics of the animals given as a gift refer to the intentions of the erastes.[113] Also, representations of hunting dogs chasing hares symbolise this relationship by stripping it down to pursuit.[114]

In a significantly different way to pederastic courtship scenes, which transfers the energy and passion of the hunt into a gift, erotic pursuit depicts the metaphor; “hunted down by desire”.[115] Rather than trying to impress the object of their desire with gifts, the ephebe redirects his violent impluse towards the female. The female has become the quarry. Indeed, in Sourvinou-Inwood’s examination of pursuit scenes emphasis is placed upon the character of the pursued female as wild and outside the control of society. Sourvinou-Inwood states; “unmarried girls were thought to be

[111] From 600-425 B.C, Barringer (2001) 8,15.
[112] Vidal-Naquet (1986) 107 and 122.
[113] Barringer (2001) 94ff.
[114] See Hoffman (1977) for discussion of animal pursuits.
[115] Barringer (2001) 87.

partly 'wild' and partaking in animality".[116] The hunt and erotic pursuit collerate. There is no attempt at persuasion, he means to have her regardless. Both are victims of the sexual impluse, either passively as a victim of desire, or actively as an instegator. However, only the ephebe fears the failure which would mean his continued status as outside the social group.[117] The figure of the ephebe hunter represents "the young man on the threshold of adult life"; to fail would be a humiliation.[118]

Hunting Down Desire

A red-figure stamnos, now in Krefeld, by the Yale Oinochoe Painter, and dated between 500-450 B.C, provides an excellent example of subtle erotic violence which permeates scenes of erotic pursuit. The painted sides of the Krefeld stamnos appear as near mirror images of erotic pursuit; a nearly naked ephebe, likely to be Theseus, pursues a female in an unspecified context (fig.5.24a/b).[119] By taking up the majority of the visual space, the pursuing ephebe dominates the scene. On side A the ephebe holds the spear at its very end, permitting maximum reach, and points the tip at the female figure (fig.5.24a). The penis of the ephebe, although flaccid, doubles the point of the spear directed at the female. In response, the pursued female shifts away from the ephebe, stretches out her arms which has the effect of opening up her body to the viewer. Reminiscent of gestures made by females in mourning scenes and at the battle side, the viewer witnesses protest.[120] She gazes back at the ephebe and their eyes meet. Here, the viewer decides; is this a sign of encouragement or a plea to stop? [121] The combination of gesture and gaze could present a contradiction. The female figure moves towards an 'invested' female spectator who stands to the side of the scene, fully draped and holding a spear.[122] The stillness of the spectator is clear, but her

[116] Sourvinou-Inwood (1987) 138.
[117] Vidal-Naquet (1986) 107.
[118] Vidal-Naquet (1986) 120.
[119] Krefeld, Kaiser Wilhelm Museum: 1034.1515. Sourviou-Inwood (1987) references this example as being one in a number following the same iconographic schema 133. She describes the two different types of heroic pursuit. Type 1 in which the ephebe is armed, and type 2 in which the ephebe is not armed. Sourviou-Inwood (1987, 1990) argues that such examples always represent Theseus.
[120] Stewart (1995) 79. For examples of mourning scenes see Red-figure loutrophoros Paris, Musée du Louvre: CA453; Red-figure loutrophoros fragment Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum: 301. Women as 'detached' spectators to warrior scenes see Black-figure amphora Dallas (TX), Museum of Fine Arts: 1965.29M, Black-figure lekythos Hannover, Kestner Museum: 755.
[121] Select examples; Sourvinou-Inwood (1987) 137, Keuls (1995) 50, Lefkowitz (2007) 'seduction' 54ff. See Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) for the gaze as consensual 83.
[122] See Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) for a structural analysis of an image and a discussion of the class of spectators. 'Invested' spectator is used to described a figure with a stake in the result of the narrative, whereas as an 'interested' spectator is a figure who has a more modest role in the narrative.

identity is less so. Sourvinou-Inwood interprets this figure as mother to the pursued female, legitimising the ephebes actions.[123] If not the mother then this figure could epitomise social order. The maturation of the ephebe is connected to marriage, a ritual which underpins society. Therefore, this image suggests that marriage itself is a transgression, a ceremony which permits the violation of the taboo against sensuality.[124] Side B continues to use the same type of visual language (fig.5.24b). This time the ephebe is unarmed, and reaches out towards the female figure with both hands. Without a spear, the flaccid penis of the ephebe is the only thing with a point directed towards the female. The viewer is encouraged to focus upon the violence of this penis, rather than the violence of the spear. The counteraction of the female is to once again reach out her arms, open her body, and turn to meet his gaze. The fleeing females either side of the central figures enclose the pursuit. These females are companions of the pursued female, and symbolise the world of the parthenos – unmarried girl.[125] The identity of both pursued females is limited to their gender and age. Further comprehension is unnecessary – she is the passive object of desire

Three aspects of the Krefeld stamnos make a figurative connection to contemporary hunting scenes - the ephebe carrying a spear, the shield gesture and the male body. The ephebe points the spear towards the crotch of the female, symbolising his absent erection, and doubling the point of the flaccid penis.[126] It is for the viewer to consider whether the ephebe intends to use the spear, but its presence emphasises an undercurrent of sexual violence.[127] Perhaps rather than intending to rape the female, the ephebe is motivated by a desire to assimilate the female into his world, a world of uncertainty and disorder.[128] A successful capture of this female would lead the ephebe towards manhood, and the female away from her life as a wild animal.[129] The phrase shield gesture refers to the draping of the chlamys over the outstretched arm of the ephebe, filling the space between himself and the victim, and recreating the shield. The function of the shield is to protect and conceal. The shield gesture protects only against visibility, not impact, it is as though the ephebe was attempting to conceal his body, rather than defend himself.[130] The chlamys which recreates the

[123] Sourvinou-Inwood (1987) 144.
[124] For the transgressive status of marriage, see Bataille (2006)109-118.
[125] Sourvinou-Inwood (1978) 144.
[126] Keuls (1993) 50.
[127] See Sourvinou-Inwood (1987) 131ff and (1990) 19ff.
[128] Stewart (1995) 83.
[129] Barringer (2001) 41.
[130] This gesture is reminiscent of the wrist gesture found in wedding scenes, furthering the connection between the two, see see Red-figure Pyxis Paris, Musée du Louvre: N3348; Red-figure Lekythos Berlin, Pergamonmuseum: F2205; Red-figure Loutrophoros fragment Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1966.888.

shield is the only item worn by the ephebe. Although perhaps concealed from the female's gaze, the body of the ephebe is fully exposed to the viewer. Nudity is worn here like a costume, engaging with a fascination with the charm of the naked youth.[131] This charm was not limited to athletic prowess, but had a definite sexual charge.[132] The naked youth represented the costume of male citizens, as well as a focus for the erotic gaze.[133] Nakedness is regularly used as a costume in scenes of hunting, referring to the homosocial as well as the voyeuristically erotic.

A shared theme or repetitive iconography which connects the two sides of a painted vase can be used to emphasise a particular component of the image.[134] When applied to scenes of erotic pursuit, the complementing scene can accentuate the violent undertones. For example, a red-figure stamnos, now in New York, by the Kassel painter, and dated between 475-425 B.C, depicts both an erotic pursuit and an Amazonomachy (fig.25a/b).[135] On side A a mounted Amazon in fully patterned trouser suit, points a spear at a warrior and into the shield. The warrior in full battle dress branches a spear at the Amazon. Separated by palm-trees, side B depicts an ephebe in a chlamys pointing a spear towards the female's waist and reaching out to her. The use of palm-trees is highly significant here, suggesting the realm of Artemis and the wild life of the unmarried girl.[136] The visual language is typical of erotic pursuit and yet when viewed alongside an image of open hostility between a male and female, the potential for violence is underlined. The Amazon occupies the side of the scene reserved for the pursuing male, and is capable of defending herself. She dwarfs the warrior in both size and visual space. The viewer is led to think, is this really a female? The pursued female turns to meet the gaze of the ephebe and opens her body to the viewer. She is defenceless and subject to the fear of potential violence.

When viewed in isolation, the visual language of erotic pursuit is intentionally ambiguous and keeps the viewer guessing. When viewed through the extensive catalogue of painted vases, the viewer can begin to break down the visual language. The most pronounced coloration is between erotic pursuit, and scenes of hunting, referred to earlier. An earlier red-figure cup, now in Paris, in the manner of the Epeleios Painter, and dated to c.510 B.C, provides an example (fig.5.26).[137] Between two palmette-eyes on both sides of the cup, two sets of ephebes are depicted pursuing a

[131] Bonfante (1989) 551, see Bonfante (1989) 543-559 for discussion of male nudity.
[132] Osborne (1998) 83, for an extended discussion, see Osborne (1998) 80-104.
[133] Stewart (1997) 24-28.
[134] See Steiner (2007) 129-170 for a discussion of the meaning of repetition.
[135] New York, Brooklyn Museum: 09.3.
[136] For a discussion of the palm-tree symbol, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1985) 125-146.
[137] Paris, Musee du Louvre: G22.

deer. Concentrating on one side, there are two ephebes, naked except for a chlamys or shield. Depicting the shield gesture alongside the shield reaffirms the role of the gesture as protective barrier. The naked ephebe making the shield gesture brandishes a dagger in a stabbing motion, ready to stab the deer with an upward force. The second ephebe holds the spear up high, ready to spear the deer. The deer does not turn to gaze at the hunters, with head forward, the deer is focused on escape. The gazes of the ephebes are firmly fixed on their target, and the viewer knows that violence is the intentioned outcome of this pursuit.[138]

A second later example of a hunting scene occurs on a red-figure cup, now in Berlin, by the Codrus Painter, and dated between 440-430 B.C (fig.5.27).[139] Although evidently more artistically sophisticated, the Berlin cup reflects a similar scene. On side A of the cup, between two palmette-eyes, the Calydonian boar hunt is happening, with four ephebes. One ephebe is identified by inscription as Meleagros, the hunter that succeeded in killing the supernatural boar sent by Artemis. Here, the hunters have caught the boar and raise a spear and club to dispatch it. The ephebe on the far left of the scene, nearly naked except for a chlamys across is chest, holds his spear with two hands, emphasising the need for force. The viewer is in not doubt that the intense gazes directed towards the boar are intent upon seeing its violent demise.

Our final example of a hunting scene is a red-figure cup, now in Copenhagen, by the Dokimasia Painter, dated between 500-450 B.C (fig.5.28a/b).[140] Both sides of the cup depict hunting scenes. Side A shows two ephebes on either side of a large boar, surrounded by rocks and a tree. Neither of the ephebes have an actual shield, but recreate it through their gesture, creating a protective barrier which hides them from sight, rather than blocking an attack. On side B, a naked ephebe drapes his chlamys across his arm to create the shield gesture. The deer he faces charges towards him. A second ephebe, completely clothed, stabs the deer once again in the back, blood pours down the deer's sides. The clothed ephebe stands out in his outfit.

Returning directly to scenes of erotic pursuit, it is necessary to consider the interaction between ephebe and pursued female through an accumulated visual language of violence. Subtle differences however, remind the viewer that the ephebe, very capable of violence during the hunt, is

[138] Other examples of the shield gesture in the iconography of hunting are common, but mainly occur in the tondo of a cup with a single figure of an ephebe, either alone, or with an animal, see for example London, British Museum: 1929.11-11.1, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: 48.2115, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: 01.8030.
[139] Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg: F2538.
[140] Copenhagen, National Museum: 6327.

pursuing a different wild thing. A red-figure hydria, now in Florence, painted by the Group of Polygnotos, and dated to ca.430 B.C, depicts an erotic pursuit on one zone (fig.5.29).[141] An ephebe, possibly Theseus, pursues a female. The ephebe in chlamys and with petasos runs towards the female, carrying his spears pointing towards the female's body. Significantly here, the ephebe covers his entire upper body with the chlamys, concealing the details of his physicality from the viewer, and his victim. The two share a gaze as the female turns towards him and reaches out her hand. The ephebe's arm is covered by the chlamys, creating the shield gesture and a temporary barrier between the two, it is as though he needed to defend his body against her. The companion of the female runs towards a couple on the far left of the scene (not illustrated). These witnesses legitimise the pursuit. Using hunting scenes to interpret the visual language of the Florence hydria, it is apparent that the ephebe is attempting to attack, and defend himself. The spear is held only by one hand, minimising the force of the point, and yet the ephebe's outreached arm mimics the shield used to protect the body against attack. The ephebe is the aggressor, but his body language suggests fear of the defenceless female.

Our final example of erotic pursuit is a red-figure cup, now in Frankfurt, by the Euaion Painter, dated between 475-425 B.C, depicting a beautifully balanced pursuit scene (fig.5.30).[142] The ephebe is at the centre, in full chlamys and wearing a petasos. He points his spear towards the female next to him, whilst stretching out an arm to recreate the shield gesture. The ephebe is flanked on both sides by near-identical-looking females. Each of the females turn towards the ephebe, opening up their bodies, outnumbering him and defended only by their numbers. The spear is brandished with little force, the ephebe may have considered attacking, but he seems to be forced to defend himself against their beauty.

Erotic pursuits are generally characterised by the sense that neither of the central figures have experienced a previous encounter together. In other words, they are physically unknown to each other, and the ephebe is overcome by desire. The representation of the reunion of Helen and Menelaus employs the same visual language as that used in scenes of erotic pursuit. However, this time the viewer knows the circumstances of their relationship, the outcome of the scene – that Menelaus will not kill Helen – and the emotions that alter this action – seduction by her beauty.[143]

[141] Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 4014.
[142] Frankfurt, Goethe-Universitat, Antikensammlung: 406.
[143] See Euripides *Andromache* 629-631 for an account of this reunion.

The reunion scene survives in several examples.[144] For instance, a red-figure amphora, now in Vienna, by the Berlin Painter, and dated to 470 B.C, depicts Menelaus running towards Helen (fig.5.31).[145] Menelaus is in full combat gear, appearing every bit the dangerous warrior. However, as their gaze meets, Menelaus throws away his sword, defeated by her beauty. His shield remains a protective barrier for Menelaus, but he has already been defeated. The shield faces in towards the viewer, encouraging the viewer to empathise with his defeat. Helen reaches towards a protective statue of Apollo, instead of appealing to Menelaus. When compared to erotic pursuit, this reunion scene reminds us that the ephebe pursuing the female has not yet abandoned his violent intentions, and so far, his shield has been successful in preventing a defeat by desire. And yet, generally speaking the spear is lowered, indicating the ephebes helplessness.

The ephebic erotic pursuits in particular depict pure human fantasy.[146] This representational practice engages with the tension and anxiety that desire provokes. The viewer cannot be certain of the ephebes success and experience of pleasure. These depictions refer to the Drive, the never ending need to reach the desired object, but the reality that desire is never truly satisfied. Unlike the explicit erotica discussed in the first section of this chapter which depicts gratification, it is the unrepresented that engages with the viewer's desire. The conclusion of the pursuit is un-representable. The painted vase is uniquely suited to the scenes which interact with the space between the seen and unseen. The physicality of the vase requires close approximation to the body, and the need to rotate the vessel to complete the scene. The scene is not figuratively completed, but already the viewer has formed an expectation through their own imagination. Additionally, the private relational context, particularly communal drinking activities, encouraged an encounter with desire and consumption. The situation of the vase at the heart of private social experience permitted a confrontation with human experiences and emotions. Both the function and functionality empowered the painted vase to relate things often kept hidden. To a certain extent, the vase was a marker of social order.

[144] See select examples, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: RC5291, Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico: A1815, Paris, Musée du Louvre: G424.
[145] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 741.
[146] Frontisi-Ducroux (1996) 83.

A Broken Vessel

In this final section discussion develops upon the suggestion that the vase marked correct engagement with social order. We return to the vase as an iconographic component on the painted vase, and consider whether it symbolised fear and violence. In each image considered so far in this study, the iconographic vase has appeared in use, or at least in the process of being used. Here, we discuss how violence is conveyed by an upturned or broken vase left prominently in the scene. Early depictions of the pursuit of Troilos provide an excellent example.

In black-figured depictions of the young Troilos, he is shown ambushed by Achilles when he and his sister Polyxena are at a well, filling a hydria.[147] He is later murdered. The violence of the scene is not explicit, but the violation of the violence hidden from view is contained in the broken hydria. For example, a black-figure hydria, now in London, by the Leagros Group, and dated between 510-500 B.C, depicts a scene in which Achilles pursues Troilos (fig.5.32).[148] In the centre of the scene is Achilles, fully armed and in pursuit of the mounted Troilos. The size of the horse and the rest of the figures in the scene emphasise Troilos' young age. The surrounding figures are Polyxena, his sister, a second female, and a warrior. The female and the warrior are separated from the action by a large upright hydria. The contrasting reactions of the female and the warrior to this event represent gender differentiation. Beneath the horse ridden by Troilos is an upturned and broken hydria. Not only does this strongly contrast with large hydria to the left of the scene, it also comments upon the horror of what is happening and the violence to come.[149]

Beginning around 470 B.C depictions of Poseidon pursing Amymone became popular on red-figure vases. Amymone was the daughter of Danaus, and the only wife out of fifty daughters who would not kill her husband on their wedding night.[150] She appears on a small variety of painted vases, mainly kraters, being pursued by Poseidon. Essential to her identification as Amymone is a hydria which she carries, suggesting that Poseidon has disturbed her whilst at domestic work. A red-figure krater, now in St. Petersburg, by the Achilles Painter, and dated between 475-425 B.C, depicts Poseidon with his trident, pursuing Amymone, who carries a hydria (fig.5.33).[151] The visual language of the scene is consistent with erotic pursuit, except that the pair have swapped gendered

[147] Troilos is mentioned only briefly in the Iliad by Priam in Book 24 as a son killed. Also see Gantz (1993) 597-601 for description of literary and artistic representations.
[148] London, British Museum: 1837.6-9.41.
[149] For further examples, see Copenhagen, National Museum: 111, Rome, Market: 306608, Berlin, Pergamonmuseum: F1685.
[150] Gantz (1996) 207-208.
[151] St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 191.

sides – Poseidon on the right and Amymone on the right. Amymone turns to meet Poseidon's gaze whilst he reaches towards her, and points his trident at her body. The angle of the hydria suggests that it is empty, having spilt its contents during the pursuit. A second example, a red-figure pelike, now in Rome, by the Birth of Athena Painter, and dated to ca.450-440 B.C, relates a similar scene (fig.5.34).[152] Poseidon has caught up with Amymone, who carries her empty hydria and avoids his gaze. This scene is a fraction of a second ahead of other erotic pursuits discussed here in that Poseidon has lowered his weapon, and his victim has lowered her gaze. Escape is impossible.

That both mythological scenes focus upon the hydria as an object which conveys a message emphasises the significance of the function and functionality of the vessel. The hydria was used to collect water, traditionally a woman's job in the household. When at the fountain, the woman is exposed, open to attack and outside in the open. She is defenceless against the acts of others. The domestic figure of Amymone and the young age of Troilos connect to the symbolism attached to the hydria. Inversion, exploitation and social transgression are explored through the iconographic hydria, either broken or held at an edge. This reminds us of the Peithinos cup, discussed earlier, which used increasing angular aryballoi to mark the state of sexual excitement.[153]

Our final ceramic expression of inversion is again the hydria. When the centaurs fought the Lapithes at the wedding feast of Pirithous, the ideals of the occasion are completely violated. Having had too much wine, the centaurs begin to fight with the guests, and attempt to rape the women. In depictions of the Centauromachy, the vessels used to provide water for wine become weapons in the frenzied attack. For example, a red-figure krater, now in Florence, by the Florence Painter, and dated between 500-450 B.C depicts a Centauromachy (fig.5.35).[154] A naked youth, likely to be Theseus, punches a centaur, which has raised above his head a hydria as a weapon. One female is prostrate, whilst a second youth attacks another centaur who uses a table as a weapon. The centaurs depend upon weapons, not physical strength to defend themselves. But more significantly, they turn objects of peace and conviviality into weapons. A red-figure cup, now in Boston, by the Aristophanes Painter, and dated between c.410-400 B.C, depicts a similar scene (fig.5.36).[155] Decorating both sides of the cup and the tondo, centaurs fight naked ephebes, one centaur on each side holds a broken hydria over his head to bring down upon the ephebe. The

[152] Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 20847.
[153] See footnote 79.
[154] Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 3997.
[155] Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 00.345.

centaur broke the hydria, emptying the purifying water, and transforming the object of conviviality into a weapon. As one ephebe battles with another centaur he brandishes a spear – the correct weapon during warfare.

In each of these mythological scenes, the hydria stood for something. Its presence in the scene was not merely a contextual symbol or space filler, it carried a significant message to the viewer. The viewer understood the role of the hydria in providing water, a key ingredient in times of communal drinking and commensality. The mixing of water and wine represented civilisation and community. When the hydria broke, was emptied or used as a weapon, the social foundations of the community fractured. Misuse of the hydria was a violation, and the transgression that followed this violence was not represented lightly. As a symbol, the hydria conveyed safe conduct and an upholding of social taboos, once inverted, the community was exposed to transgressive dangers.

Constructing Transgression

Throughout this chapter there has been a gradual progression towards images which communicate something beyond what they actually represent, and away from explicit images which seek to gratify the viewer through conventional expressions of desire. We have passed from pornography to ambiguity. The sexuality which is constructed through the medium of the painted vase is deeply connected to the functions of the body; it constructs a sexuality which cannot be controlled or contained when tempted and defines the male condition. But it also constructs a different form of desire, which cannot be satisfied and continues without end. In pornography of gratification, the female body is a tool which submits but traps dominant males within the ties of this conventional and safe sexuality; the female body represents what it is not – the masculine impulse. In contrast, the female body in scenes of erotic pursuit represents the anxiety and hidden aggression of desire. The viewer does not see what happens, or whether the female submits, and therefore, the image cannot communicate to the viewer through conventional desire, but engages with un-representable transgressive acts. Both types of visual erotica – explicit and implicit – acknowledge the taboo against sexual liberty, and react in different ways to provoke a confusing experience for the viewer, who might respond negatively or positively to each depiction.

Here, we are speaking of the psychology of the vase as a painted image, a two-dimensional

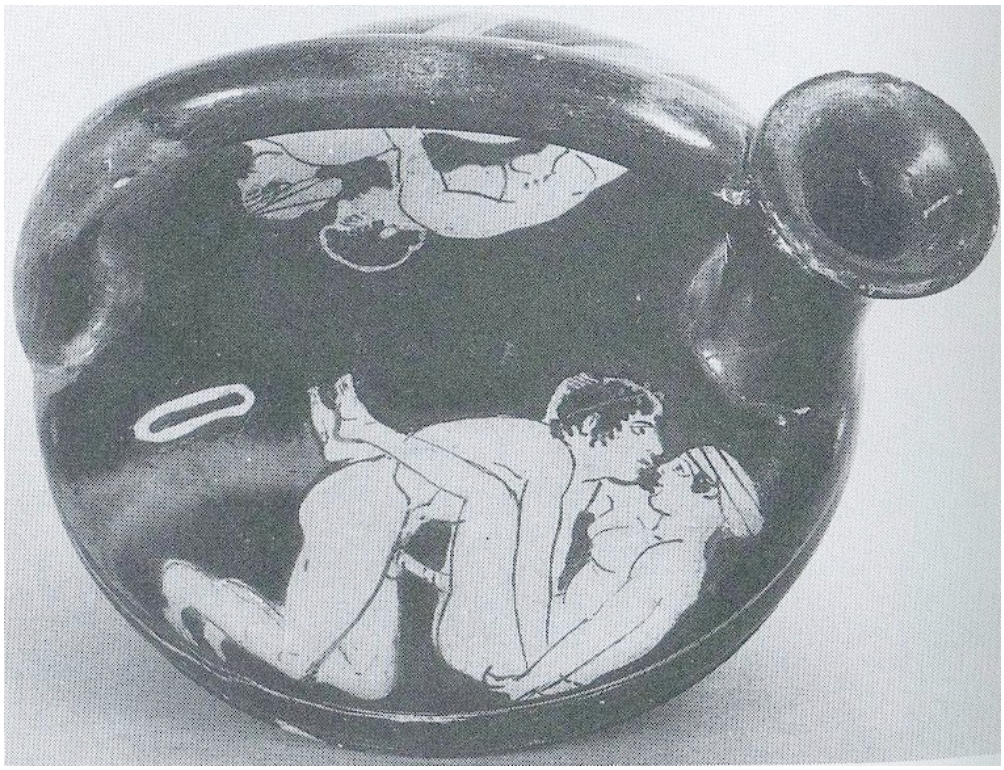
painting with a meaning. However, we also explored the physicality of the vase as both a conveyer of the image, and as a substitute for the covered or hidden physicality of the user. The nature of its use, as something passed around, held and touched, related it to other things held and touched. The imtimacy between user and vase was inescapable.

In this Section, The World on the Vase, we drew upon the complex social agency of the vase as an object in the social mileux and transferred this significance onto the surface of the vase. The image can relate to function, as discussed in Chapter Two in particular, but the image can also relate to something much wider than the vase itself, but something the vase is part of. The vase was the ideal vehicle for communicating and working through socially constructed behaviour. As part of the social framework, the vase became part of the dialogue. This dialogue concerned issues of gender, desire and sexuality, all key aspects of human identity and all irretrievably connected to the social discourse. It was almost as though the vase was a living breathing thing, subject to the same desires as their users. Through its surface, shape and function, the vase became a member of the family, a friend, guest and colleague which projected and engaged with the concerns of the dominant male citizen.

SIZE, SURFACE, SHAPE: EXPERIENCING THE ATHENIAN VASE

CONCLUSION

THE VASE IN THE WORLD AND THE WORLD ON THE VASE



A red-figure askos, side B, depicting a sex scene, unattributed, ca. 430 B.C.

For the purpose of drawing this study to a close, attention returns to this red-figure askos, discussed only briefly in the Introduction. Here, the vase is interpreted through the methodology developed in this study. Over five chapters the representationalist model of thinking has been rejected and a shift in concept has been performed from the vase as a work of art, to the vase as an object at work. This originated from the act of breaking down the vase into several composite factors; image, function, context, physicality, and meaning. When the askos is viewed in this way, the result is a radical reappraisal of the significance of the vase to Athenian society. However, before

beginning a detailed discussion of the askos it is necessary here to summarise the argument of this study.

It has been the intention of this study to engage with the entirety of the vase. As suggested by the title and outlined in the Introduction, the vase has been discussed as a composit of elements; function/ality, image, size, surface, physicality, context and meaning. The primarly angle has been to ask what the vase did as a functioning artefact. In Chapter One, the vase was contextualised within the domestic environment. As discussion progressed from conventional definition of use in the kitchen for instance, towards a function for the vase in small scale domestic rituals, such as ritual pyres, the complex meaning of the vase was emphasised. A distinction between practical function, and something more symbolic and indicative of use – functionality – was necessary. In Chapter Two attention focused upon *syssitia* and the type of vessels provided for diners by the state. In order to express the contrast between different forms of *syssitia*, the architecture and tableware played an essential role in characterisation of space. This was due to the accumulated meaning – functionality – of the vase in society. Chapter Three marks an increasing engagement with functionality. When the vase comes to represent a ritual experience, a practical function is no longer essential. The vase has accumulated meaning due to the function its shape indicts. The vase comes to personify ritual practice. These first three chapters are determined by archaeological evidence. By discussing the vase through a known relational context, a sophisticated distinction can be made between function and functionality. However, the painted image also engages with the complexity of roles for the vase. In Section Two, two genres of image were examined to demonstrate how the iconography of the vase is inextricably linked to its identity as an artefact. In Chapter Four, the painted vase reflects a visual language used to construct a gendered identity for the vase. In Chapter Five, the physical components of the vase become substitues for human anatomy to engage with the conventions of desire. Although far more iconographical than Section One, Section Two was intended to emphasise the image as a further component of the function/ality of the vase.

In sum, this study has demonstrated the workings of a method which challenges more conventional approaches to vases. Rather than attempting to interpret the vase as

either an art object or an archaeological phenomena, here we have seen how the vase became a complex functional and symbolic reflection of society. This study has been concerned with communication, between objects and those that produced and used them.

The Erotic Askos

Previous scholarship on the askos has been angled towards an iconographic approach. The resulting interpretations work with a perception of the image as a direct reflection of social experience. For instance, Kilmer states that the erotic image determined the interaction between askos and user. The image informs the user as to the function of the vessel; "perhaps the askos is itself to supply oil for this act of copulation".[875] This is based on an assumption that the shape of the vessel stipulates use. Kilmer situates this askos against the backdrop of an insight into Athenian sexuality. From a different perspective, but still following an iconographic approach, Keuls views the image as evidence of phallocentric fifth century Athens. The surface is illustrative of the "less considerate and probably degrading" sexual acts forced on women.[876] Decades earlier, Hoffman conducts a structuralist analysis of opposing images on painted askoi. He places this askos in binary opposition between frontal verses rear-entry sex which demonstrates the "Greek's ambivalence in sexual matters" and the stigma attached to passive homosexuality.[877] To each approach, the image conveys a certain aspect of social reality. Beginning with the image as the first component for the re-interpretation of the askos, this study rejects such immediate interpretations of the visual language.

The viewer is confronted with two almost-mirror images of young couples having sex. Side A shows a couple engaged in rear-entry sex, the youth holds the woman by her waist whilst she supports herself on a cushion against the edge of the vessel. On side B a similar couple face each other as the woman draws the youth's head close. The youth's erection is prominent, emphasising the anticipation in the moments before. This type of image is not unusual. However, the case of this particular askos is unique. In

[875] Kilmer (1993) 40 and 86.
[876] Keuls (1993) 176-177.
[877] Hoffman (1977) 6.

fact, this is the only example of graphic erotica discovered in Athens. During the excavations of the Agora, no such scenes were excavated. More subtle scenes with erotic overtones are far more common.[878] If not produced for use inside Athens, within the relational contexts of domestic dwellings, taverns, and public dining facilities, then where were such vessels intended to be seen and used? The majority have been excavated from tombs in Italy. This fact undermines the iconographic approaches outlined above by highlighting that this type of imagery was produced for the export market exclusively. These images cannot be reflections of sexual practices unique to Athens, but non-specific depictions produced for the Etruscan market.[879] As constructs of sexual desire, these images appear familiar to the viewer without depicting actual experiences. This familiarity works in conjunction with social convention, and a response to the universal knowledge of the taboo against sexual freedom. Suddenly, iconographic approaches to this askos are exposed as inadequate.

The image cannot be viewed as independent, but must be seen as a component of the vase in its entirety. The askos is small, no more than 10cms across, with a rounded top and a flat bottom. The handle stretches from one end to the other, joining at the protruding mouth. The user would hold the vessel by the handle and angle it to pour out the liquid it contained. The contents would likely have been small quantities of oil or wine. It was a portable vessel, small enough to carry when walking from one venue to the next. Rather than restricted to an interior, the portability of the askos meant that it could be seen and used in a wider, exterior space. The physicality of the vessel was emphasised by the need to carry it close to the body. The experience of touch heightened the eroticism of the surface and provoked the user into a response. An interpretation restricted to the basic form of the askos suggests the domestic context and the transportation of wine, or the gymnasium and the use of oil. However, this assumption is complicated in this case by the archaeological evidence.

Archaeologists from the German Institute discovered this askos during excavations of the Kerameikos in Athens. The Kerameikos was an area of the *polis* which was both inside and outside the city gates. This was also the location of an

[878] Lynch (2009) 159-165.
[879] Lynch (2009) 163.

important cemetery, used for cremation and burial from 1100 B.C until 200 B.C. Vast quantities of ceramic material has been excavated from this area as both grave goods and grave markers. Archaeologists have emphasised the need to understand these vessels as part of an assemblage, inseparable from the funerary context, and subject to ritual practice.[880] The askos was excavated from this context as a stray find. The majority of this material is much earlier than the askos. However, in Morris' analysis of the use of red-figure vases as grave goods he suggests that such vessels were "vaguely 'prestigious'", and that the iconography was selected with care and consistency.[881] If the askos was left behind by a relative or friend as a grave good, it was a vessel with high value as a commodity and chosen with the intention of counteracting conventional funeral imagery. The event that caused the askos to be in the Kerameikos however, is subject to speculation. If the vessel was left as a grave good its displacement outside a burial could be due to later activity in the area. It could also have been dropped by an owner or trader on the way out of the city. It might have been discarded from amongst the tableware of Building Z. With no way of knowing the context of use with any certainty, the possibility must be considered that the askos never actually fulfilled the function inferred by its form. The practical function of the vessel may have been transformed into a symbolic function, especially if placed in the grave and subject to ritual practice. In this relational context, the functionality of the askos was to communicate between the living and the dead. Whether intentionally placed in the grave or accidently lost, the askos invites an examination of the relation between sex and death; *la petite mort* or the little death.

Bataille states; "Eroticism opens the way to death".[882] The ecstasy of eroticism leads the individual out of the present and beyond themselves. In this moment of transcendence, the individual is propelled into the future which predominates over the present. The future is death. The askos exposes the path from eroticism to death. In Vermeule's exploration of personifications, she discusses the "pornography of death" in

[880] Morris (1992) 108.
[881] Morris (1992) 117-118.
[882] Bataille (2006) 24.

death-flirtation scenes on painted vases.[883] Images of Achilles and Penthesileia and Eos carrying off dead youths are underpinned by the power of sexual attraction and death. Vermeule relates this to a Greek concept that the death of a man is erotically fulfilling for the gods.[884] One way for the divine to experience the erotic is to cause or witness a death. By colliding erotica with death in the outer reaches of the *polis*, this askos enacts the tragedy of the human fate.

In reassembling the composite factors that merge into the entirety of the vase, a radical reinterpretation of the askos is performed. It is no longer a simple illustration of Athenian gender politics and sexual practice, but a uniquely complex vessel. As both an interactive object with a function, and as an archaeological phenomenon with a known find-spot and relational context, the askos exemplifies the experience of the vase in Athens. Without this archaeological perspective an understanding of the askos would be incomplete, and intrinsically less significant. As the only example of graphic erotica in Athens and discovered within the funerary context, the askos represents a different perspective on image.

Concluding Questions

As demonstrated through a detailed exploration of this askos, this study provides a method which combines awareness for the vase as interactive object and the particularities of the visual medium, with a consideration for the impact it made as an object imprinted with a construction of Athenian society. The vase worked in society both practically and symbolically. It fulfilled particular requirements for use, when at other times the vase symbolised both the context in which this use occurred and the use itself without actually performing it. This function and functionality resulted from the interactive and dynamic qualities of the vase, which drew upon an accumulated meaning and the ability of the vase to provoke a response in the user. The vase fulfilled functions that the user was unable to do, and out of this relationship between object and user came an intimacy. The vase became an extension of the anatomy, something which needed to be touched and brought close to the body; an interactive thing with the ability to substitute

[883] Vermeule (1979) 145-178.
[884] Vermeule (1979) 163.

for other human relations. At times, the vase became just that.

This study has carefully selected defined relational contexts, explored in detail in Section One, and two genres of iconographic constructs, discussed in Section Two. Evidently, there is unlimited scope for development. Many questions have been raised and there are more to follow. The funerary relational context is a case in point; what function did the vase serve here? How did the vase interact in this relational-context? At what stage in the ritual practice did the vase transform from an object to symbol, from function to functionality? In Gell's words; "the objective of the anthropological theory of art is to account for the production and circulation of art objects as a function of this relational context".[885] This has been the purpose of this study, which has developed a methodology uniquely suited to the dynamism of the vase. Now that this has been rigorously defined and demonstrated, it is the intention that this method should be used as a framework to explore other relational contexts and figurative constructs.

[885] Gell (1998) 11.

Figure 1.2: Tondo of a red-figure cup with reclined youth, 510 B.C

Figure 1.3: Red-figure krater with sympotic scene, 575-425 B.C

Figure 1.4a: Red-figure pelike with male carrying basket and lyre, 500-480 B.C

Figure 1.4b: Red-figure pelike with youth vomiting, 500-480 B.C

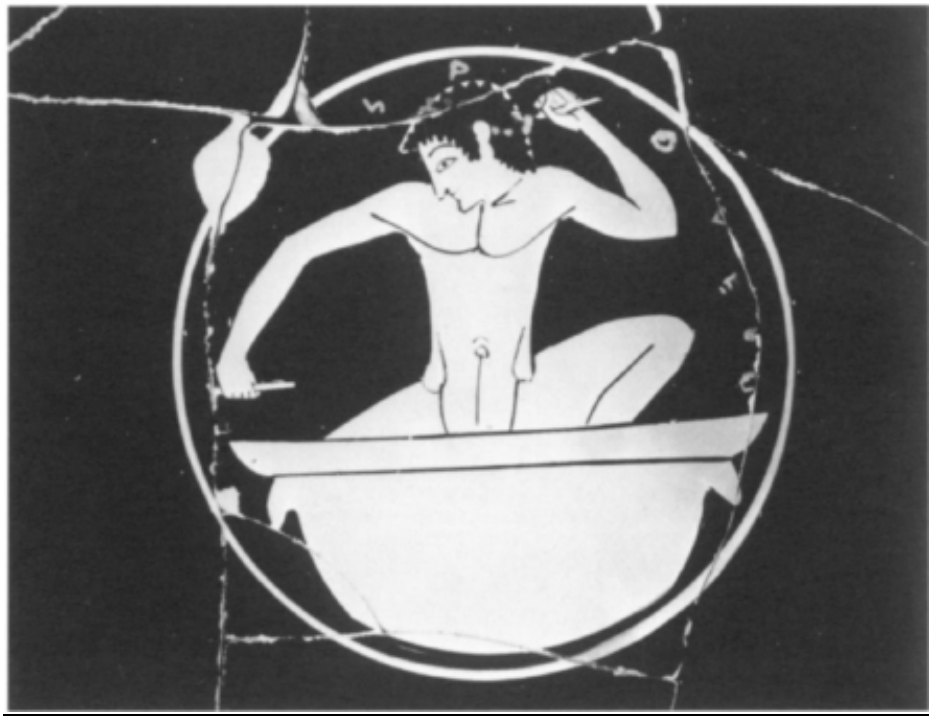


Figure 1.5: Red-figure cup with youth in krater, 500-480 B.C

Figure 1.6: Black-figure large skyphos with dining scene, 500 B.C

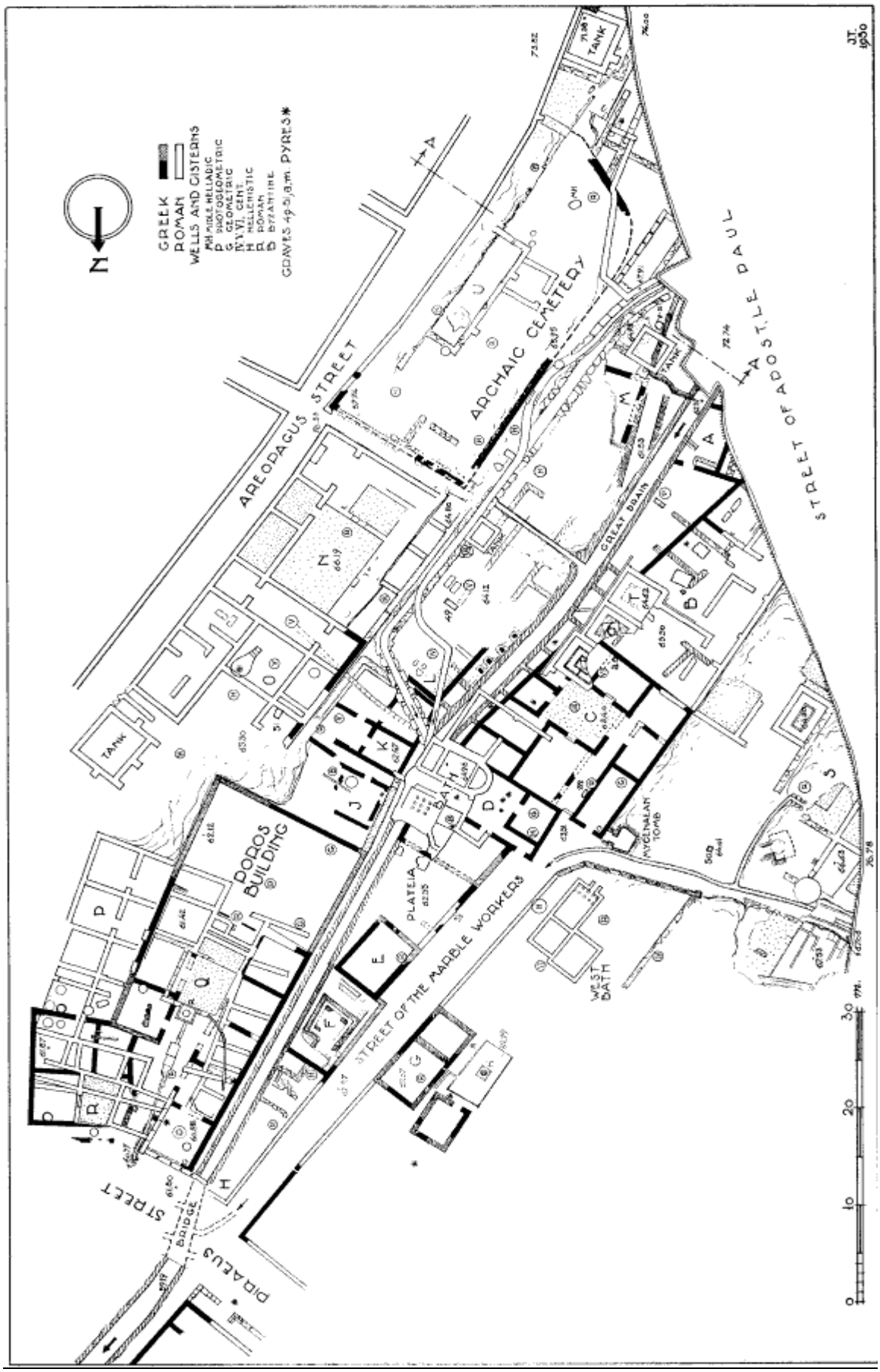


Figure 1.7: Plan of the area with ritual pyres

Figure 1.8: Pyre 2 over House B, third quarter of fourth century B.C

Figure 1.9: The contents of Pyre 2 over House B

Figure 1.10: Pyre 8, House C, Room 6, early second century B.C

Figure 1.11: The contents of Pyre 8, House C, Room 6

Figure 1.12: Cult offerings in the foundations of Building Z

Figure 1.13: Red-figure stemless cup decorated with youth between amphora and cistern, 490-480 B.C

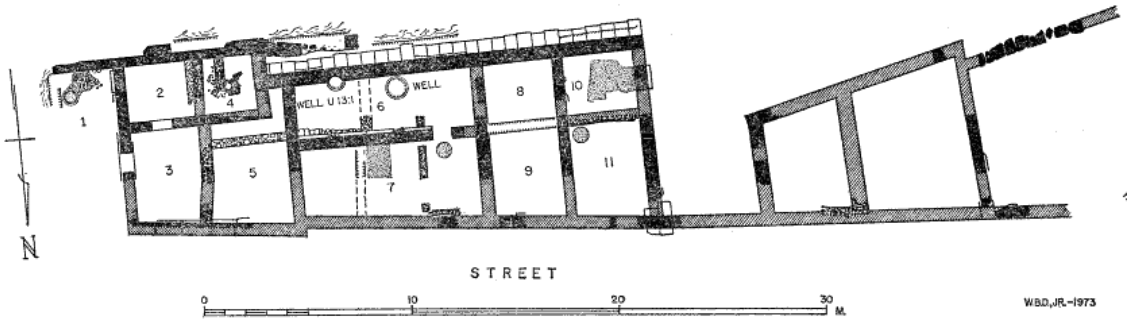


Figure 1.14: A plan of the Classical Shops between the Stoa, the well containing the pottery from the tavern is marked in room 6

Figure 1.15: Mushroom jug, unusual vessel discovered well U13:1, 425-400 B.C

Figure 1.16a: Red-figured skyphos discovered in well U13:1, 400-375 B.C

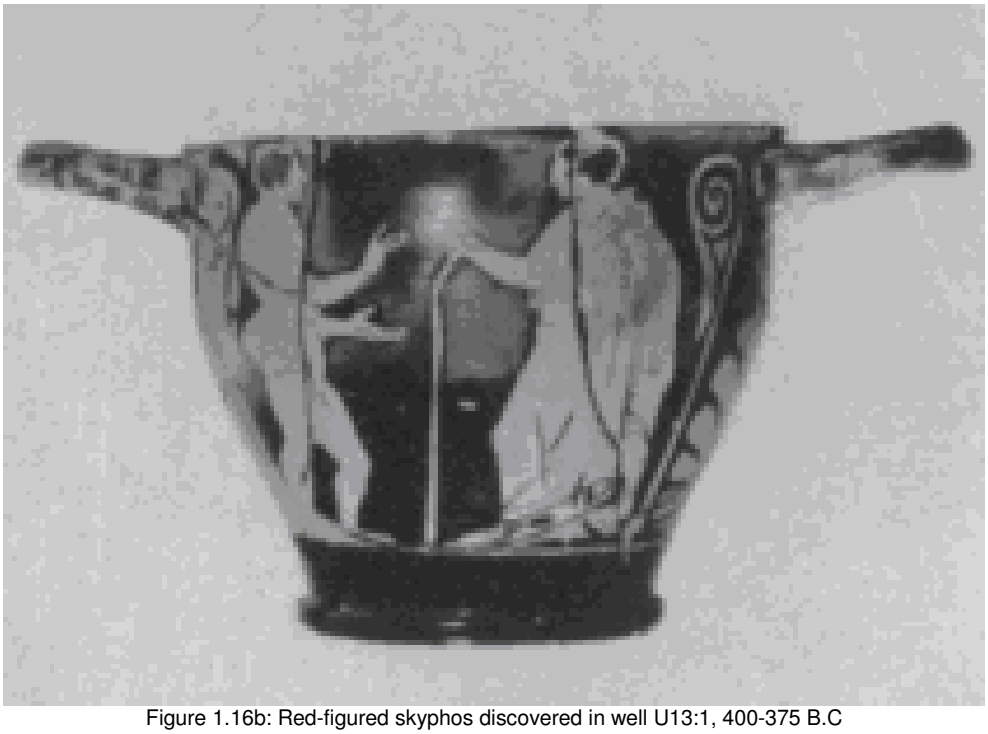


Figure 1.16b: Red-figured skyphos discovered in well U13:1, 400-375 B.C

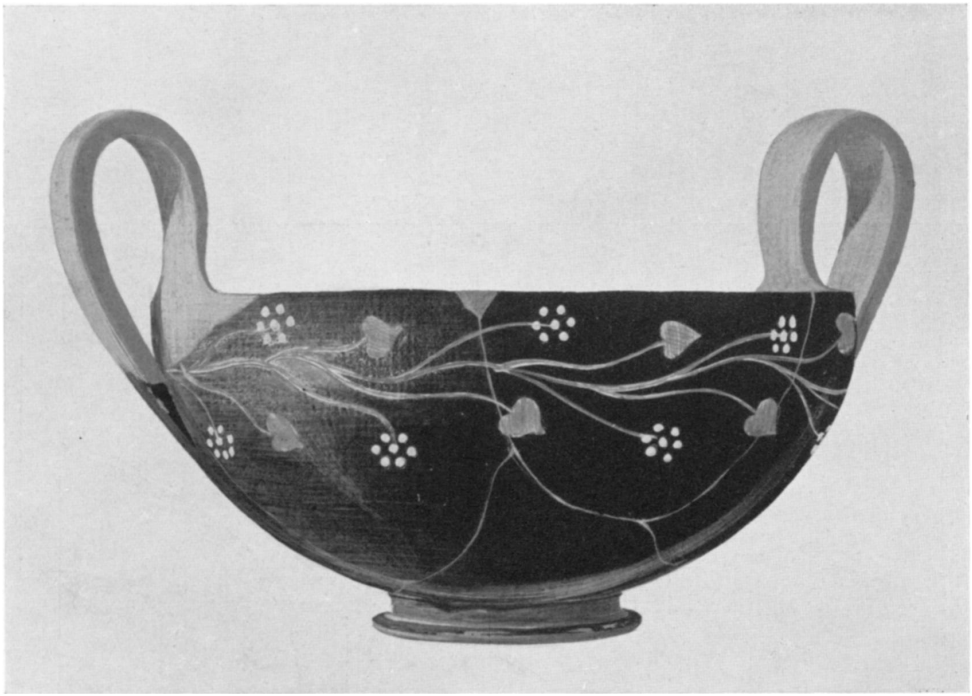


Figure 1.17: Restored handles, Black-glazed kantharos with painted decoration, well R 13:4, uncertain date

Figure 1.18: Red-figure Calyx-krater with Dionysus, well R 13:4, uncertain date

Figure 2.2: Black-figure Pelike, side B, with Dionysus and Satyrs, 510-500 B.C

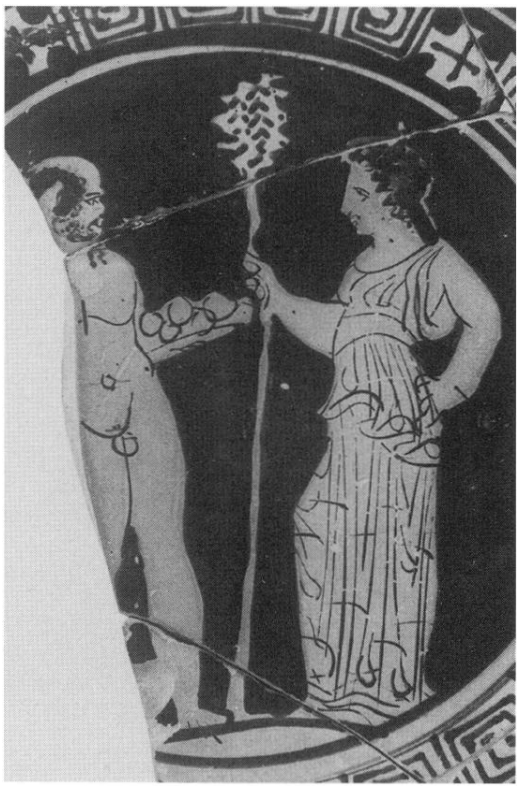


Figure 2.3: Red-figured Cup with satyr and maenad, c.410-400, dumped in Tholos area

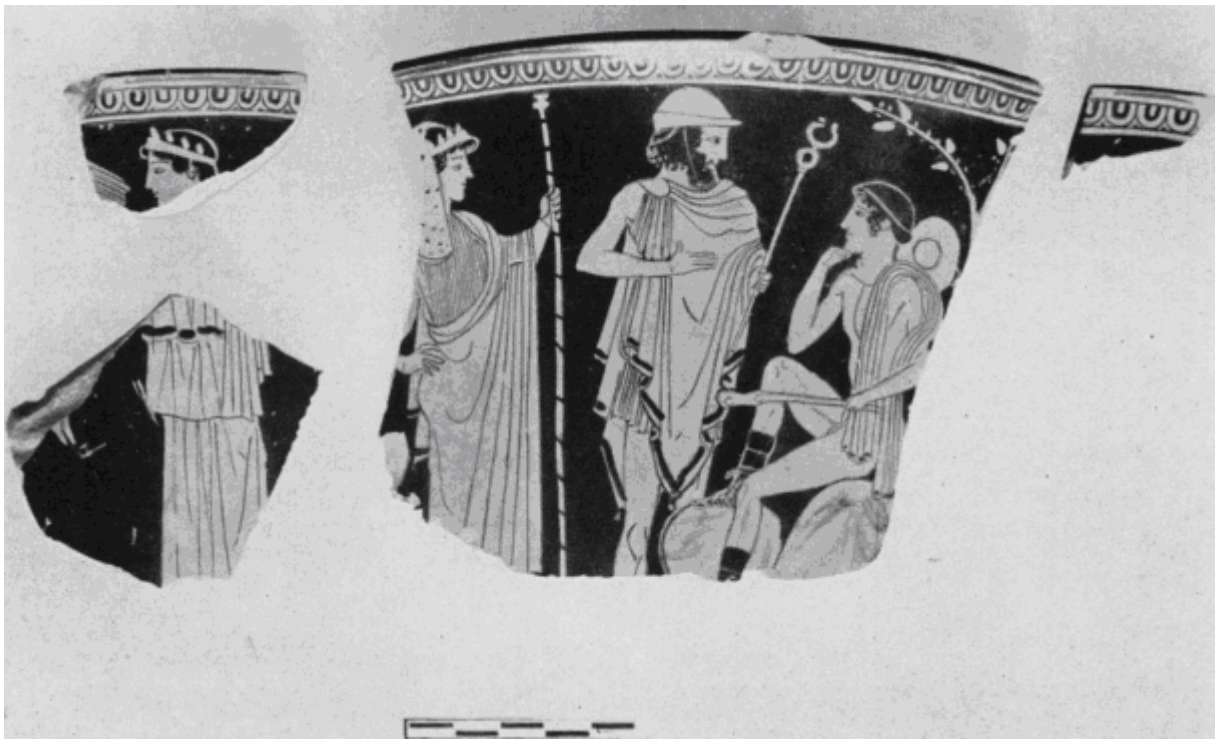


Figure 2.4: Red-figured Kantharos depicting the Judgement of Paris, c. 470-60, dumped in Tholos area

Figure 2.5: Plain black-glazed psykter, representative of the high quality glazed ware from the Tholos

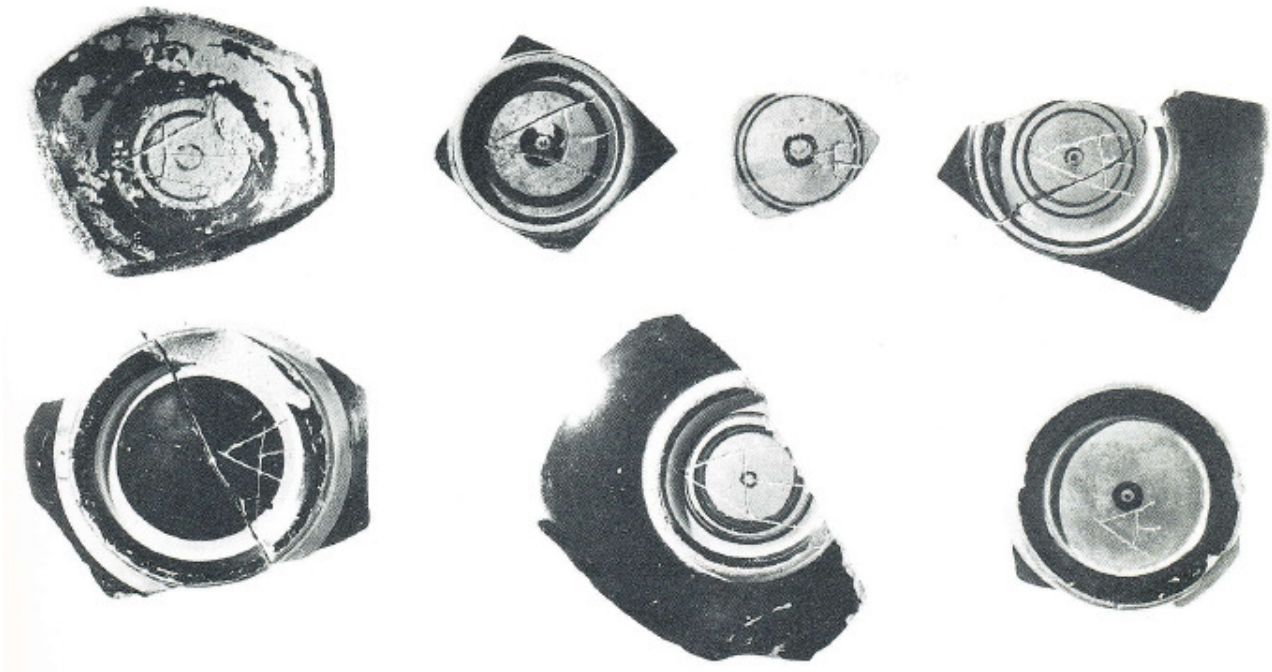


Figure 2.6: Fragments of ligatured pottery, found in the Tholos building and area of Royal Stoa

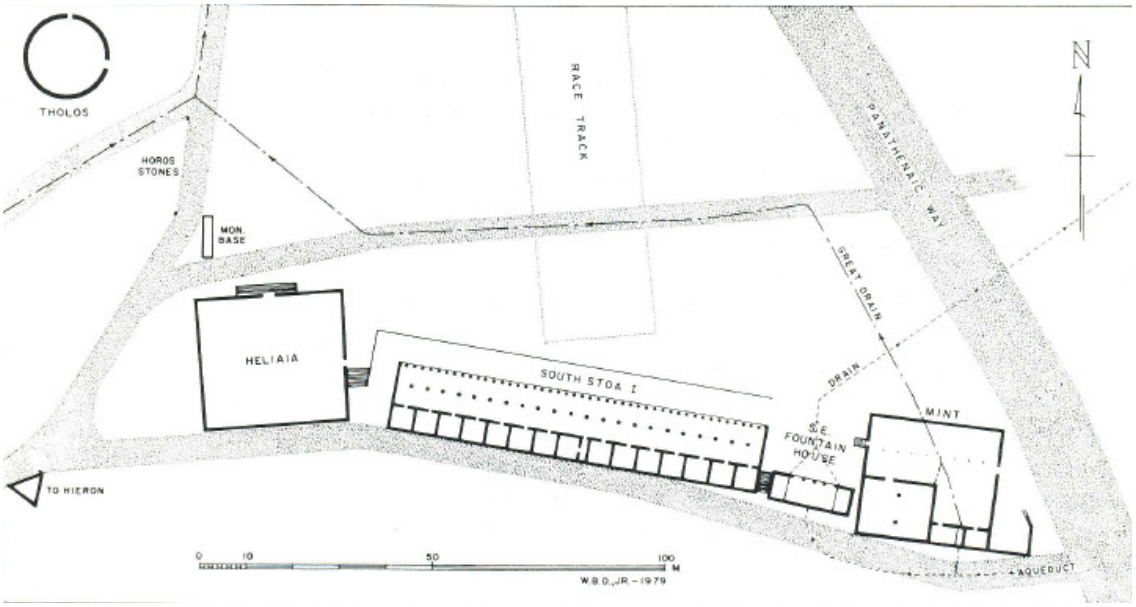


Figure 2.7: Area of South Stoa I around 400B.C.

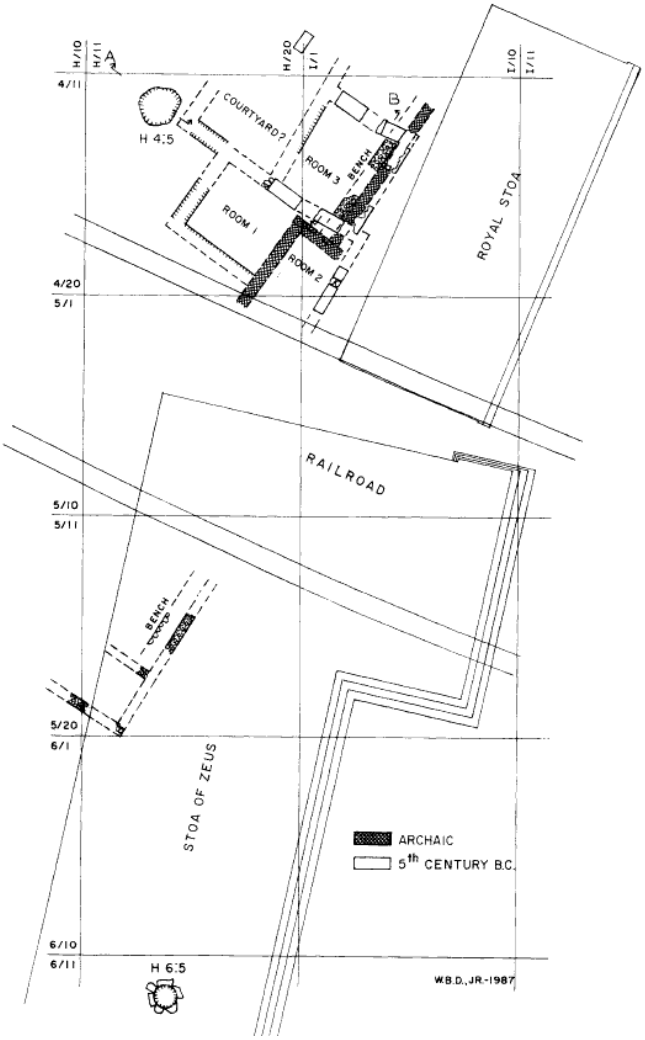


Figure 2.8: Plan of buildings at the northwest corner of the Agora

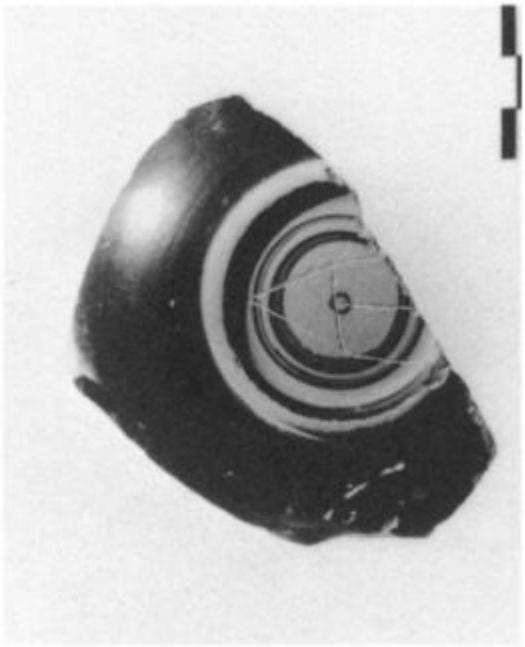


Figure 2.9: Plain black-glazed Rheneia cup with ligature from Royal Stoa area (c.480-470)

Figure 2.10: Red-figure kantharos with satyr, 460 B.C

Figure 2.11: Red-figure column-krater with Eos and Tithonos, 430 B.C

Figure 2.12: Red-figure pelike with women and youth in an exchange, 470-60 B.C

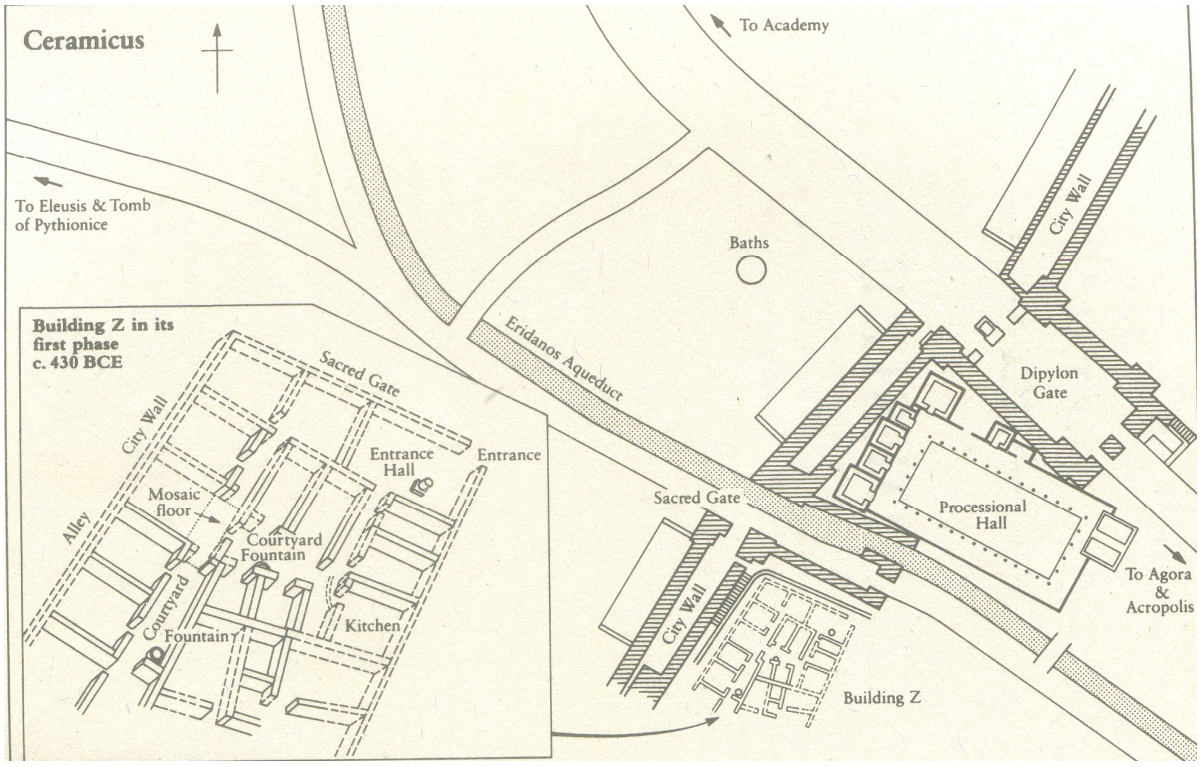


Figure 2.13: Map of the Kerameikos including the Pompeion and Building Z

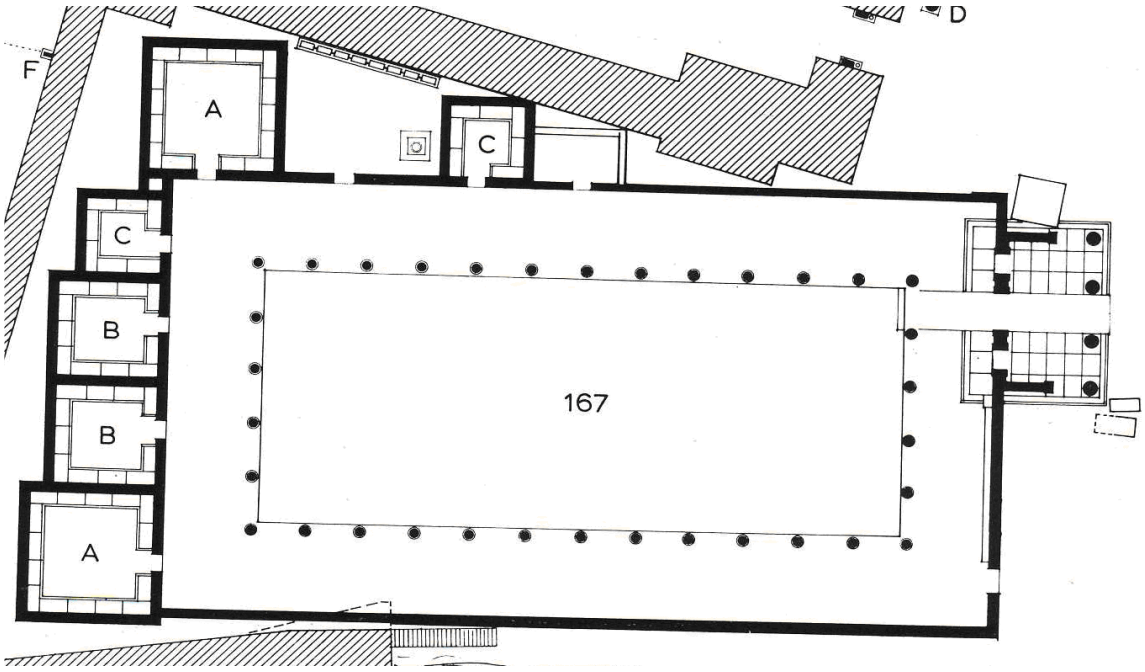


Figure 2.14: A plan of the Classical Pompeion with adjoining dining rooms

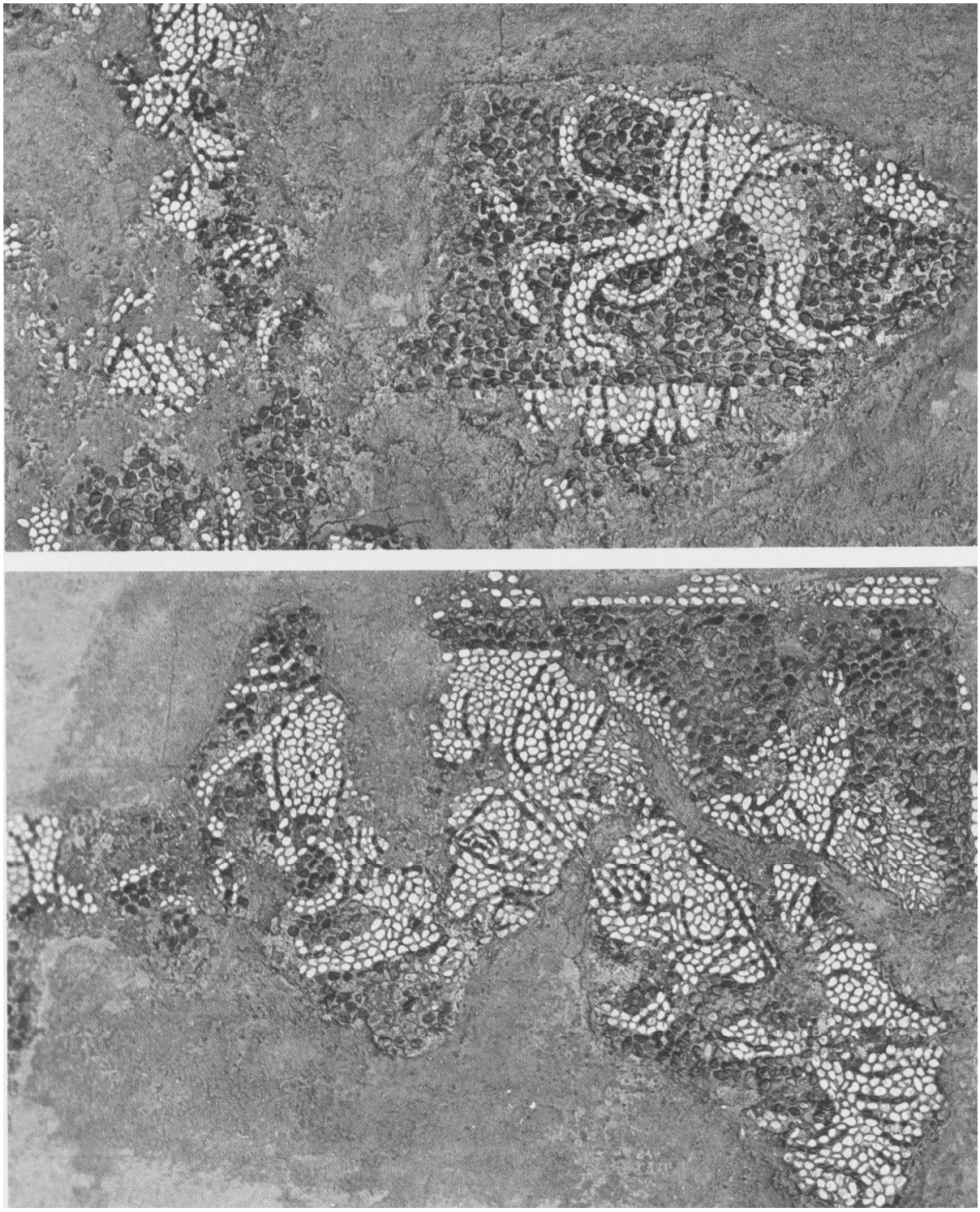


Figure 2.15: The fighting animal mosaic from room 6 at the Pompeion

Figure 2.16: Red-fragment fragments excavated from the Pompeion area; K 3-8

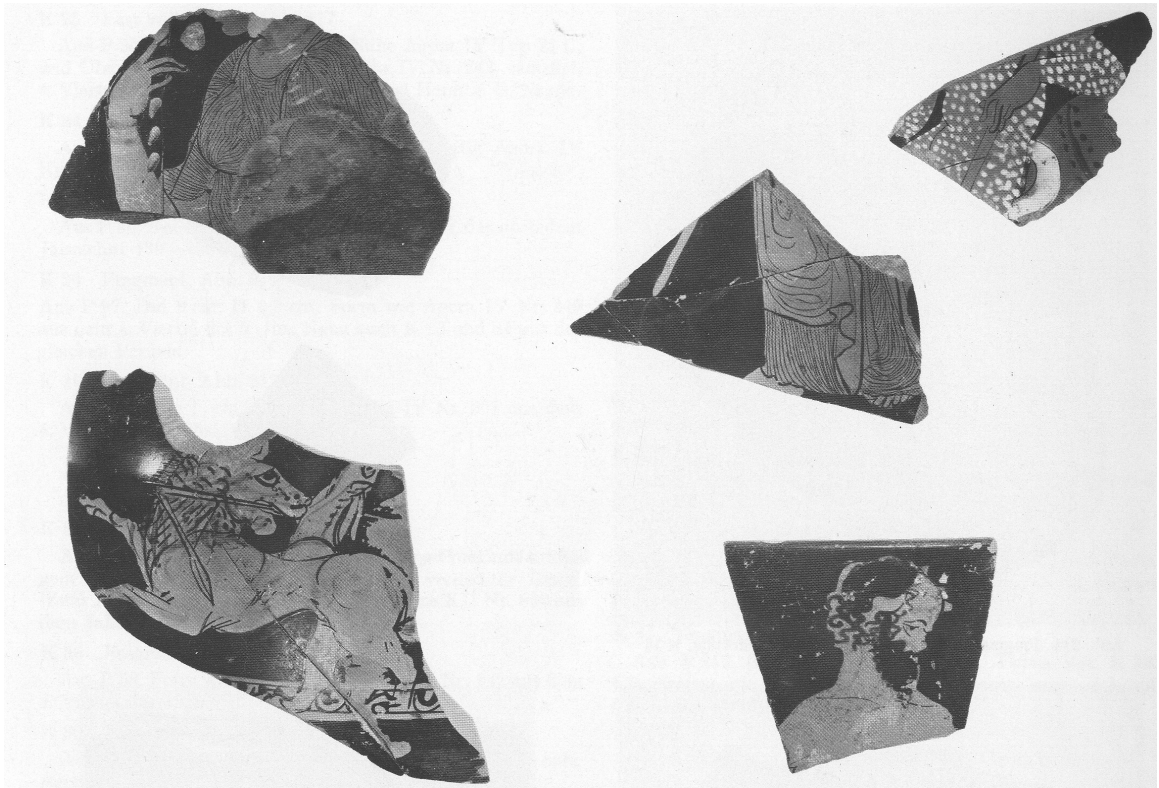


Figure 2.17: Red-figure fragments excavated from the Pompeion area; K 10-13

Figure 2.18: Bell-Krater fragment excavated from the Pompeion area; K 14

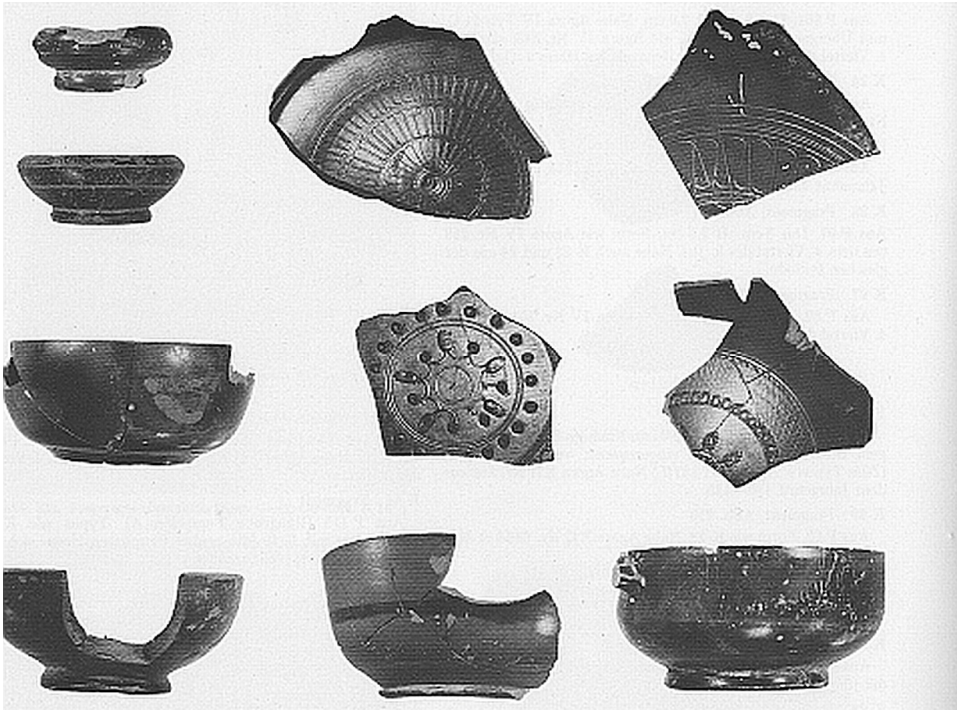


Figure 2.19: Black-glazed stamped ware excavated from the Pompeion

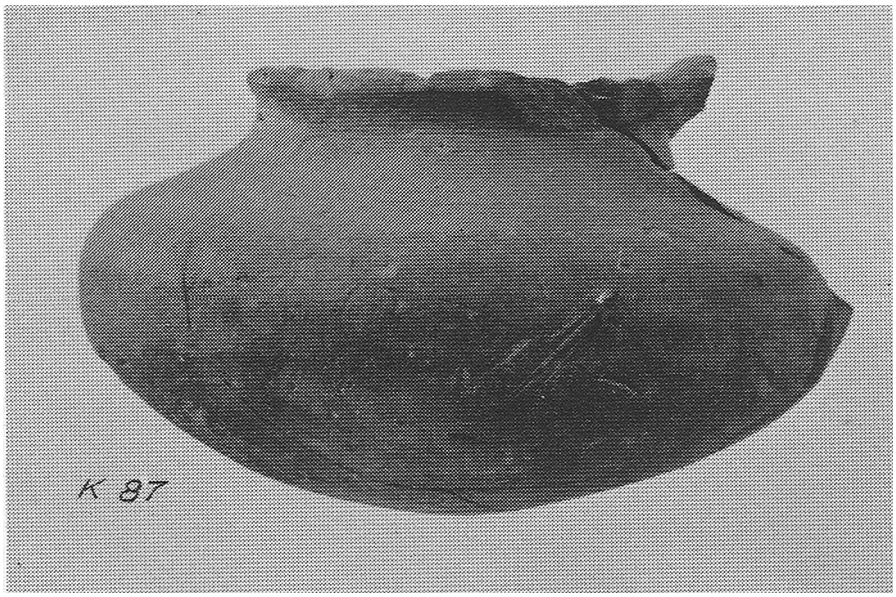


Figure 2.20: Earthen-ware miniature chytra buried in the foundations of the Pompeion

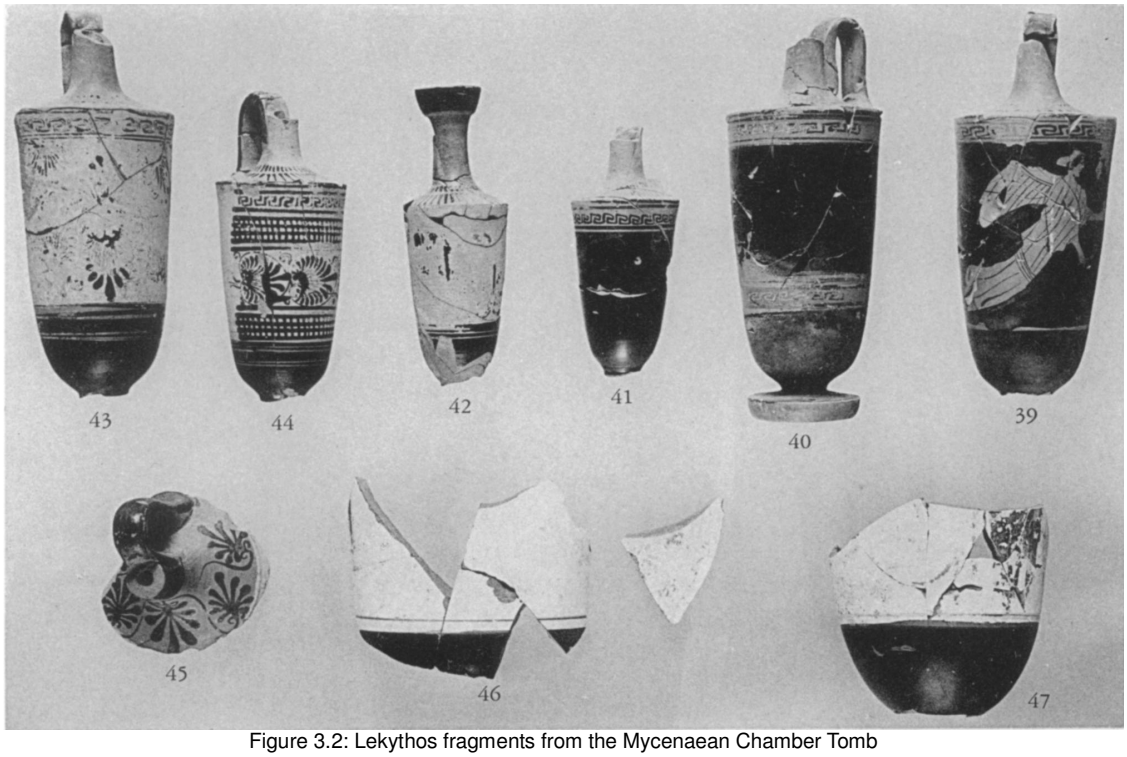


Figure 3.2: Lekythos fragments from the Mycenaean Chamber Tomb

Figure 3.3: A common type of chytra, second half of sixth century

Figure 3.4: A chytridion from a pyre, end of fourth century

Figure 3.5: Plain black-glazed pelike from Well A on the Acropolis

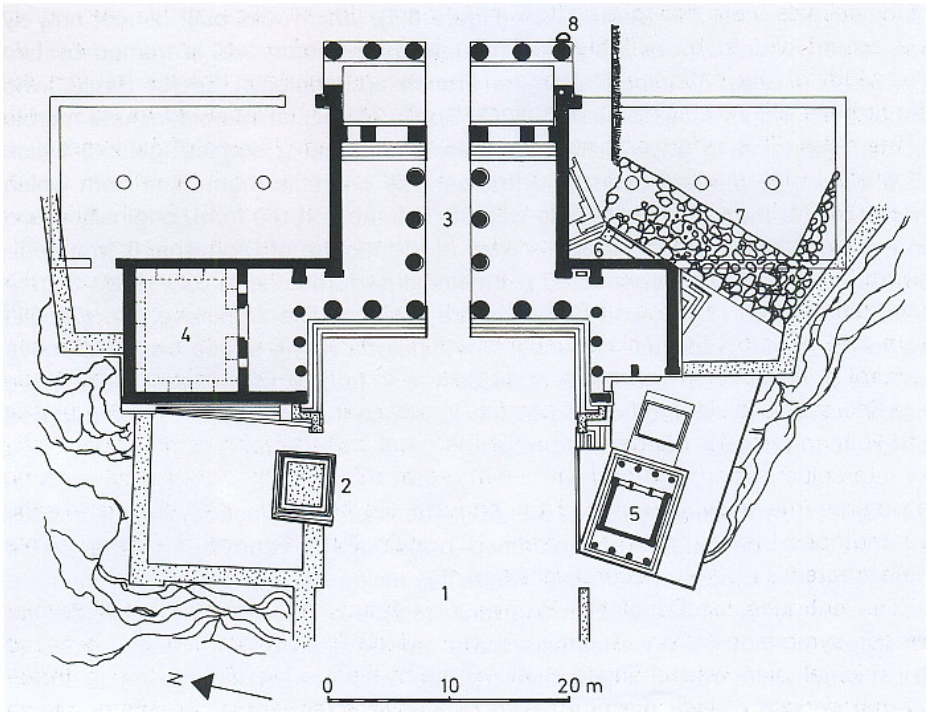


Figure 3.6: A plan of the Mnesiklean Propylaia

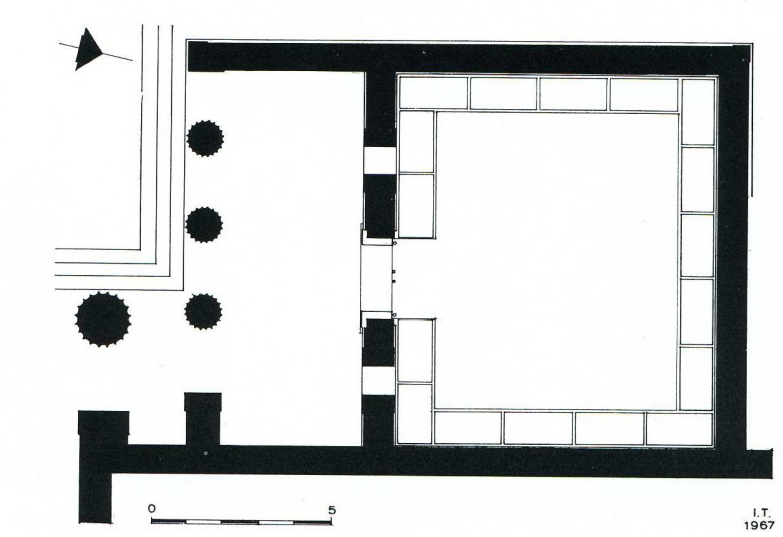


Figure 3.7: Plan of the Pinakotheke with suggested layout of couches

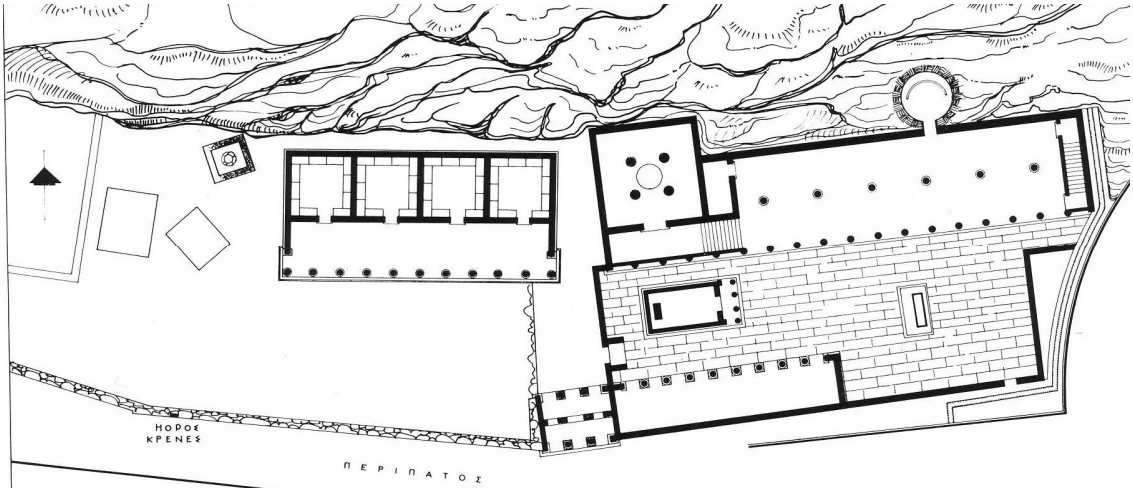


Figure 3.8: A plan of the Athenian Asklepieion in 1st century AD.

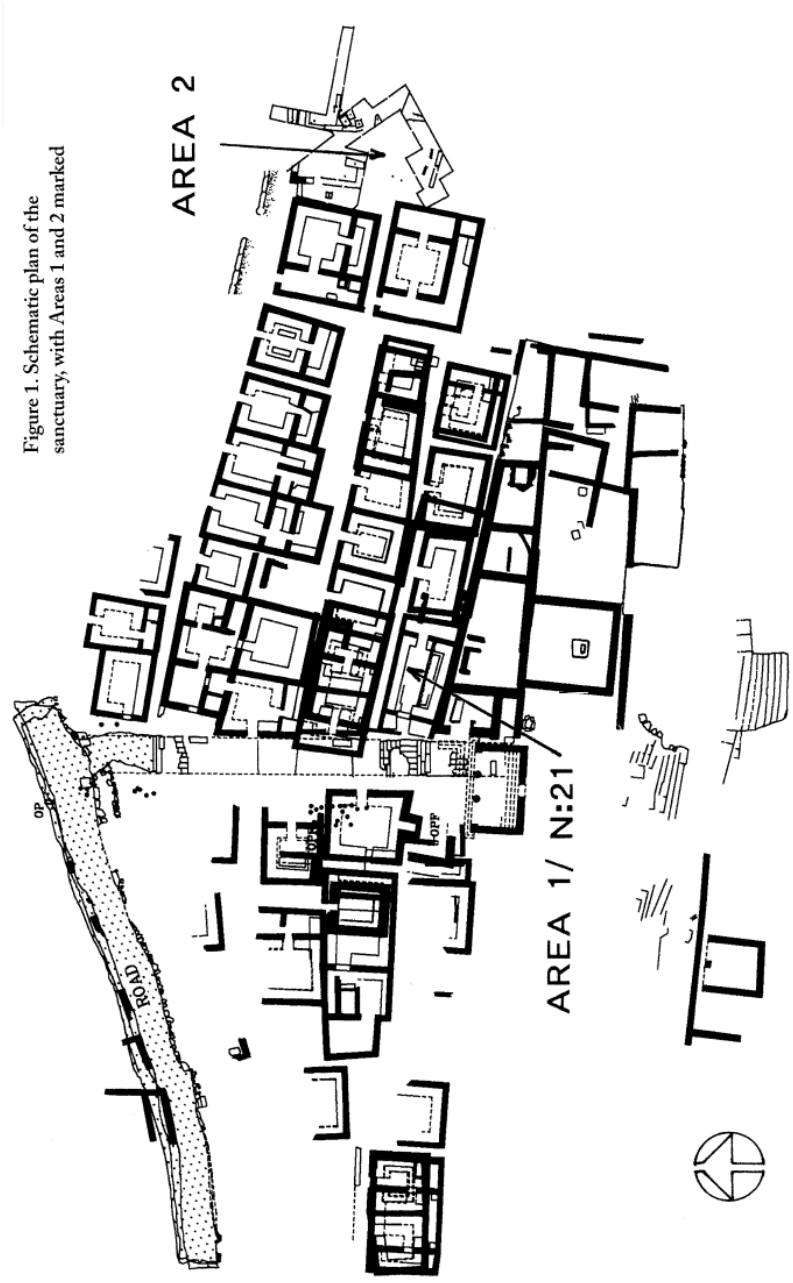


Figure 3.9: Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, Corinth, c.400 B.C

Figure 3.10: A locally produced krateriskos from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth

Figure 3.11: Red-figure loutrophoros, depicting a wedding procession, 430-420 B.C

Figure 3.12: Black-figure loutrophoros, depicting a funerary scene, c.500 B.C

Figure 3.13: Red-figure lebes gamikos, depicting a domestic scene, 500-450 B.C.

Figure 3.14: Red-figure white-ground lekythos, depicting a grave side scene, 460 B.C

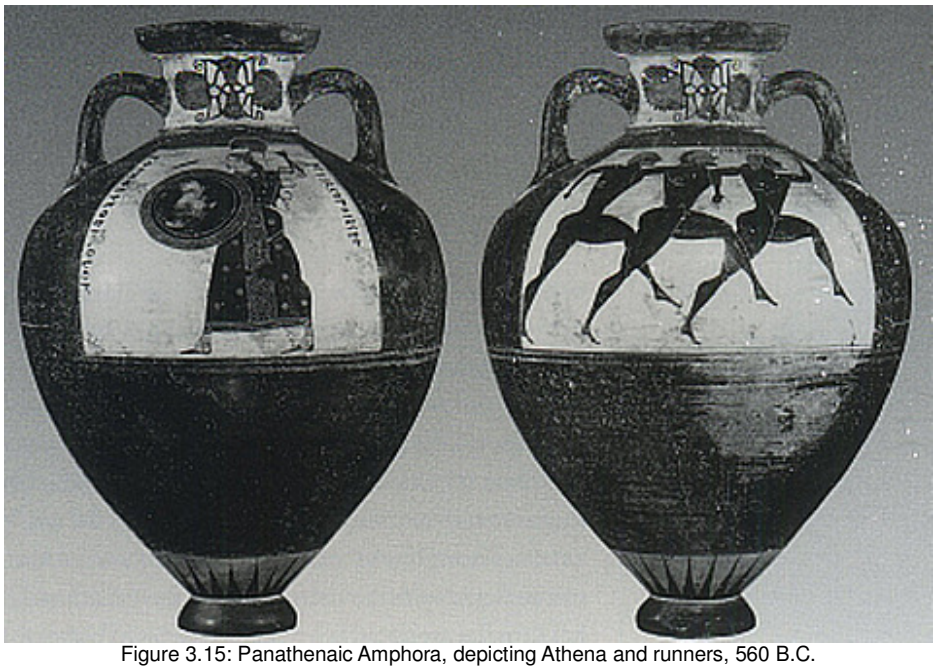


Figure 3.15: Panathenaic Amphora, depicting Athena and runners, 560 B.C.

Figure 3.16: Miniature Panathenaic-shaped Amphora, depicting Athena and Poseidon, 400 B.C.

Figure 3.17: Red-figure Anthesterian Chous, depicting crawling baby, 450-400 B.C.

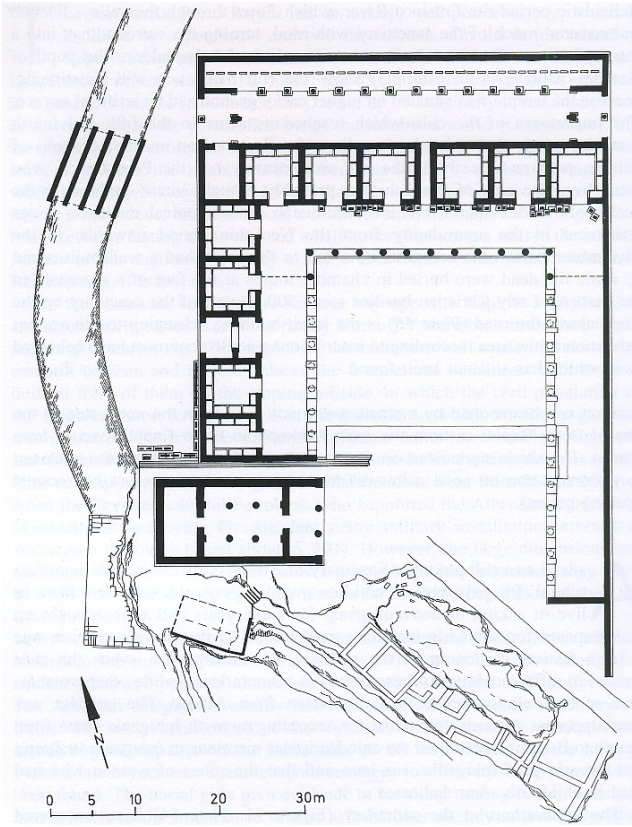


Figure 3.18: Plan of the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, late fifth century B.C.

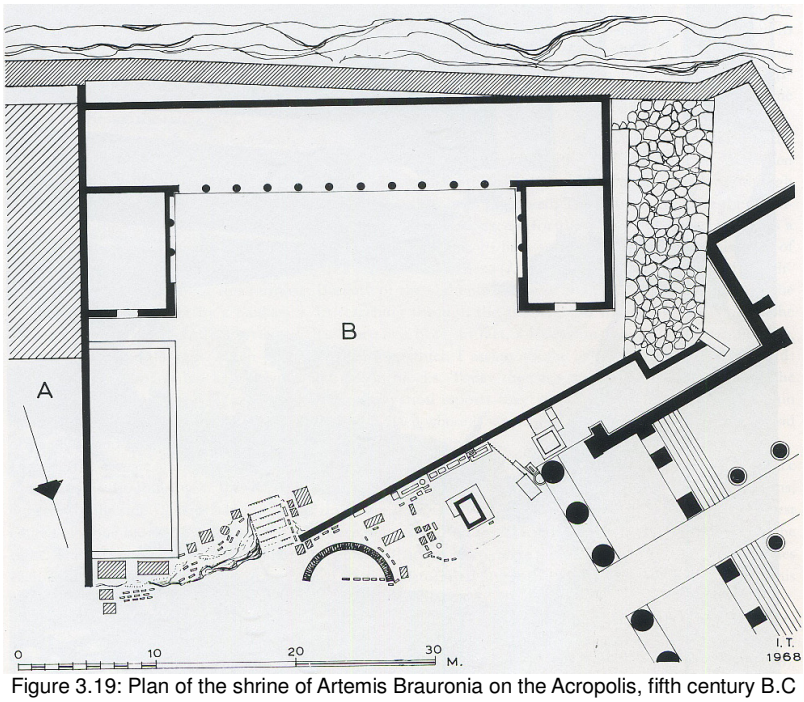


Figure 3.19: Plan of the shrine of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis, fifth century B.C

Figure 3.20: Fragment of a black-figure *krateriskos*, depicting possible *arkeia*, uncertain date.

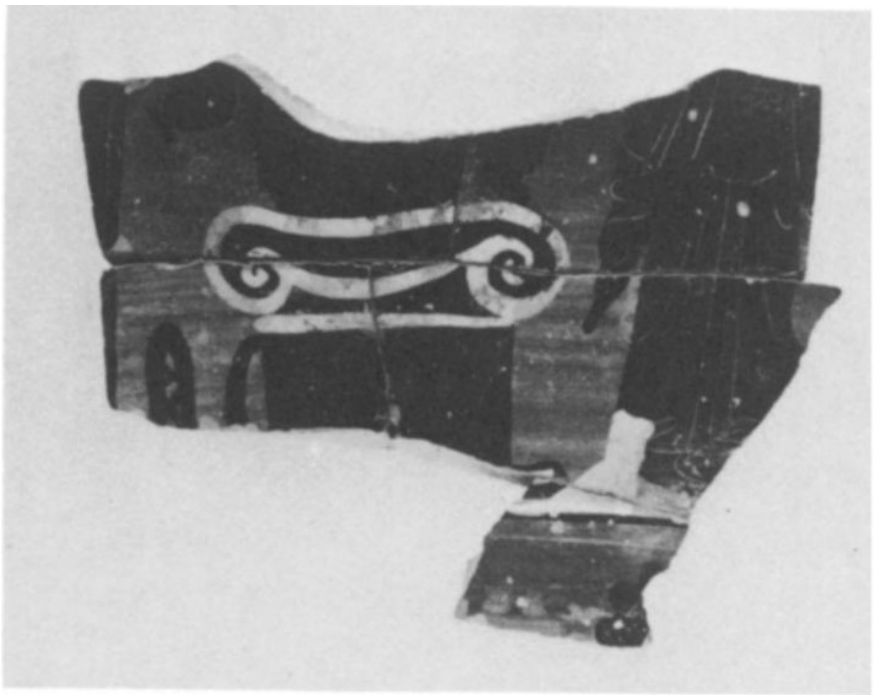


Figure 3.21: Fragment of a black-figure *krateriskos*, depicting altar and part of female, uncertain date.

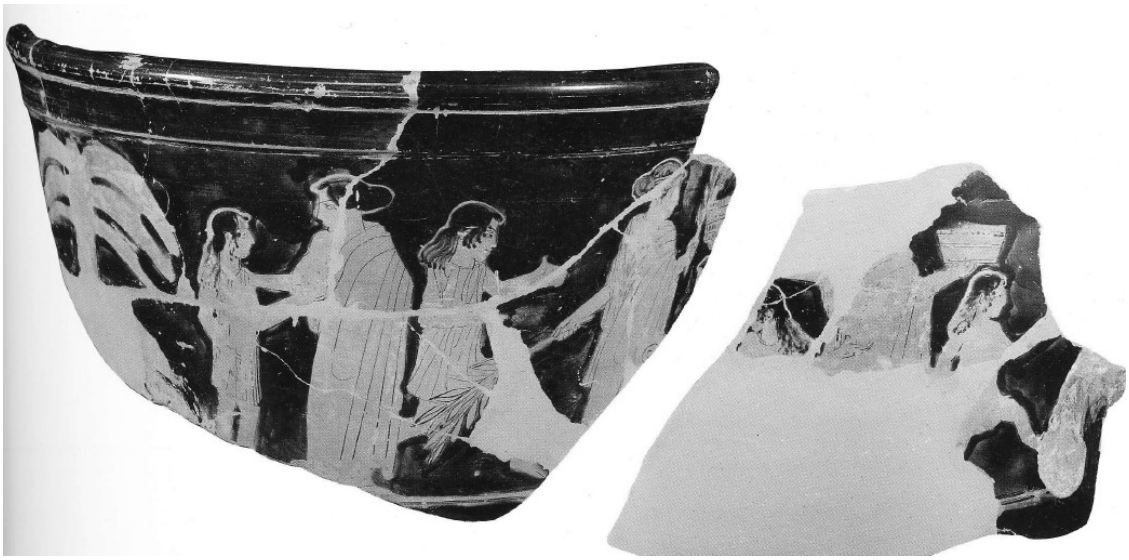


Figure 3.22: Fragments of a red-figure krater, depicting females alongside palm tree and altar, 430-420 B.C.

Figure 3.23: Fragments of a red-figure krater, depicting naked running females, 430-420 B.C.

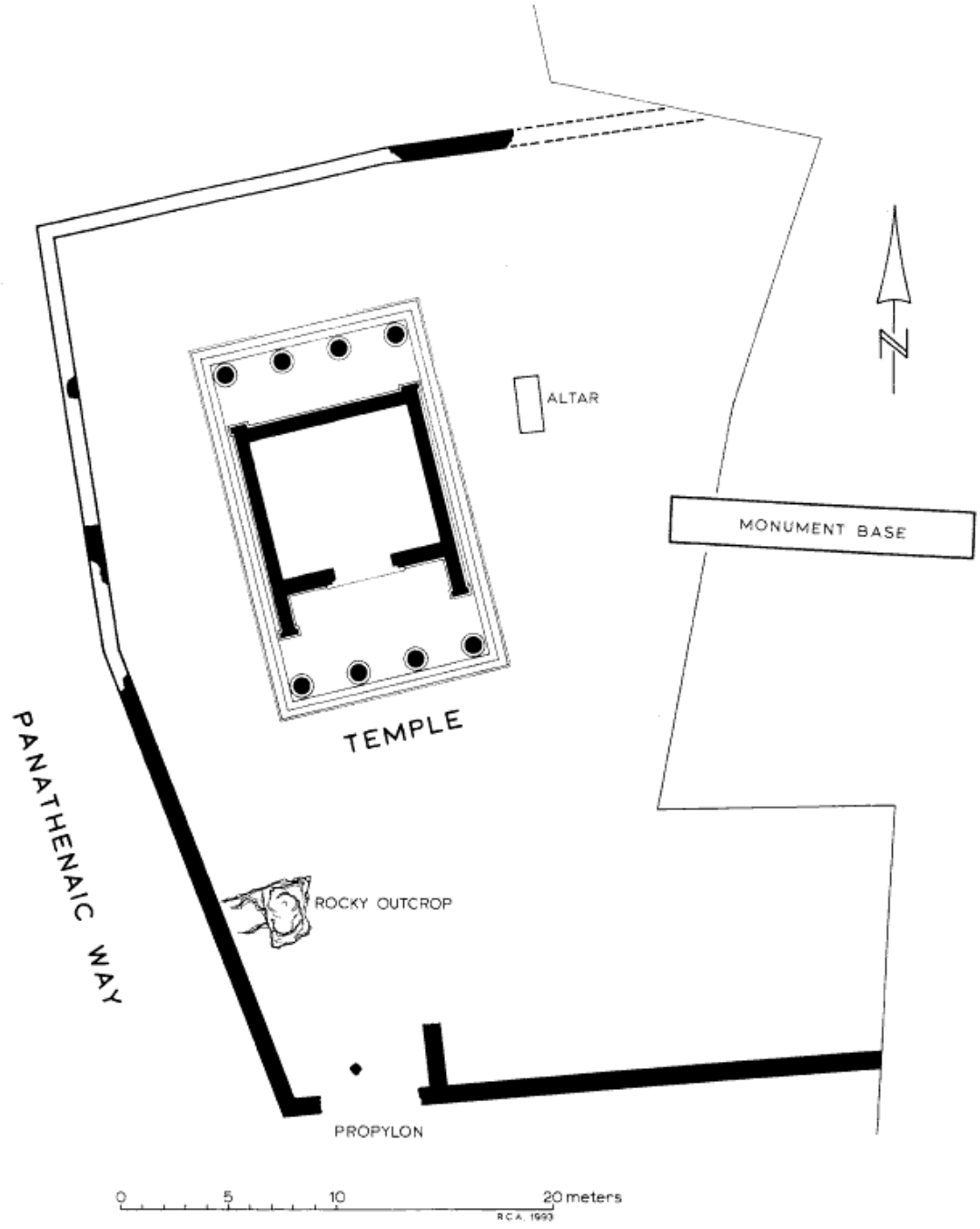


Figure 3.24: Plan of the Eleusinion at the mid fifth century

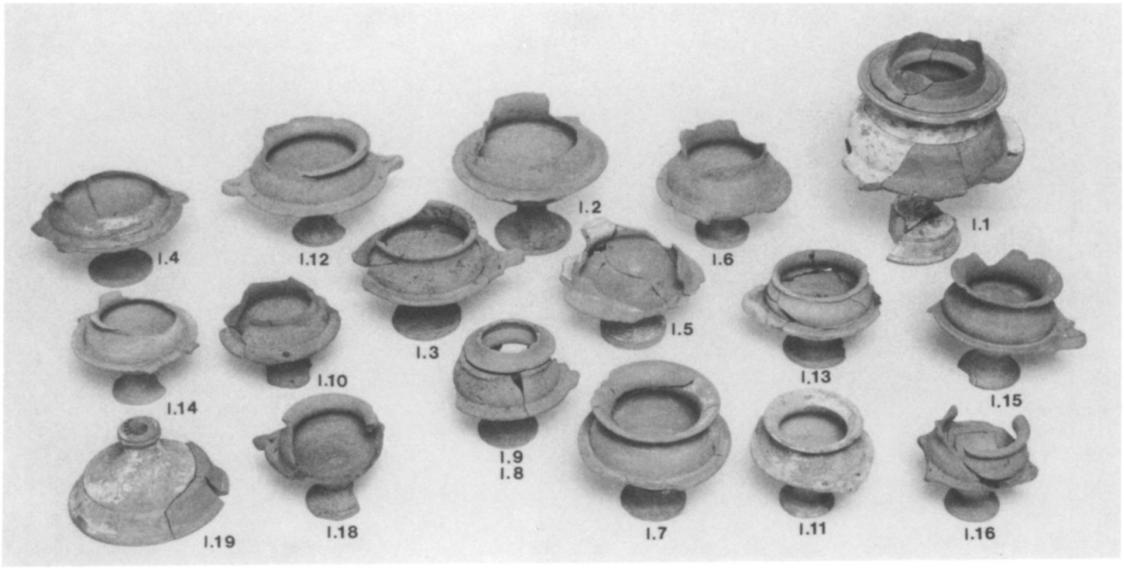


Figure 3.25: Collection of plemochoai excavated from deposit T 22:1, fourth century B.C.


Figure 3.26: Photograph taken in 1938 of deposit T 22:1 at the City Eleusinion containing whole plemochoai

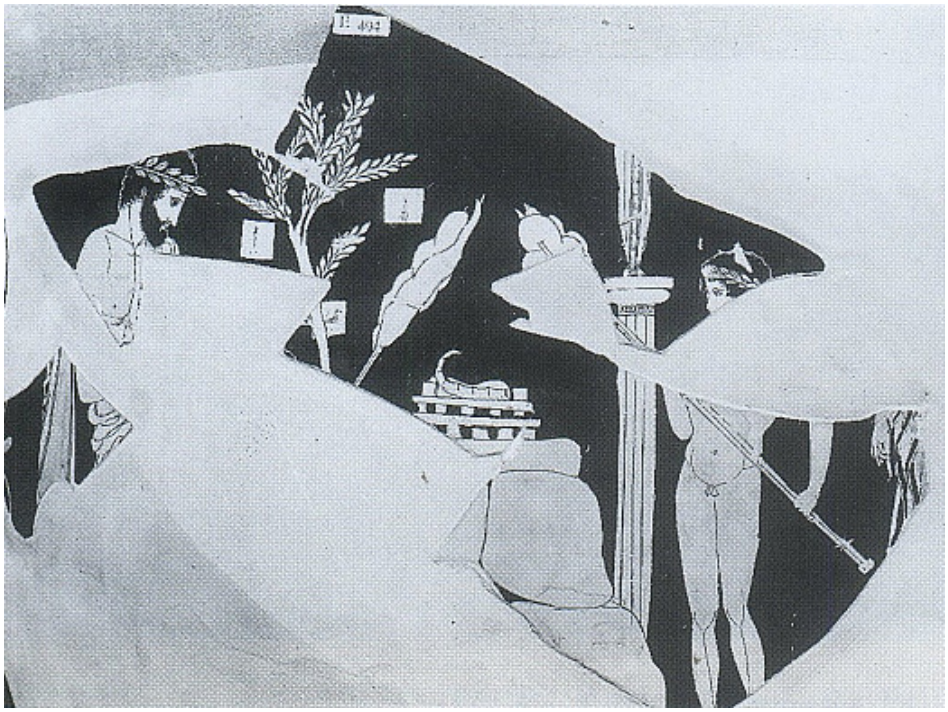


Figure 3.27: Fragments from a bell-krater, depicting Herakles sacrificing to Chryse in a sanctuary 450-425 B.C.

Figure 3.28: Red-figure bell-krater, depicting interior of shrine, 425-400 B.C.

Figure 3.29: Dedication by a potter on the Acropolis, late Archaic period.

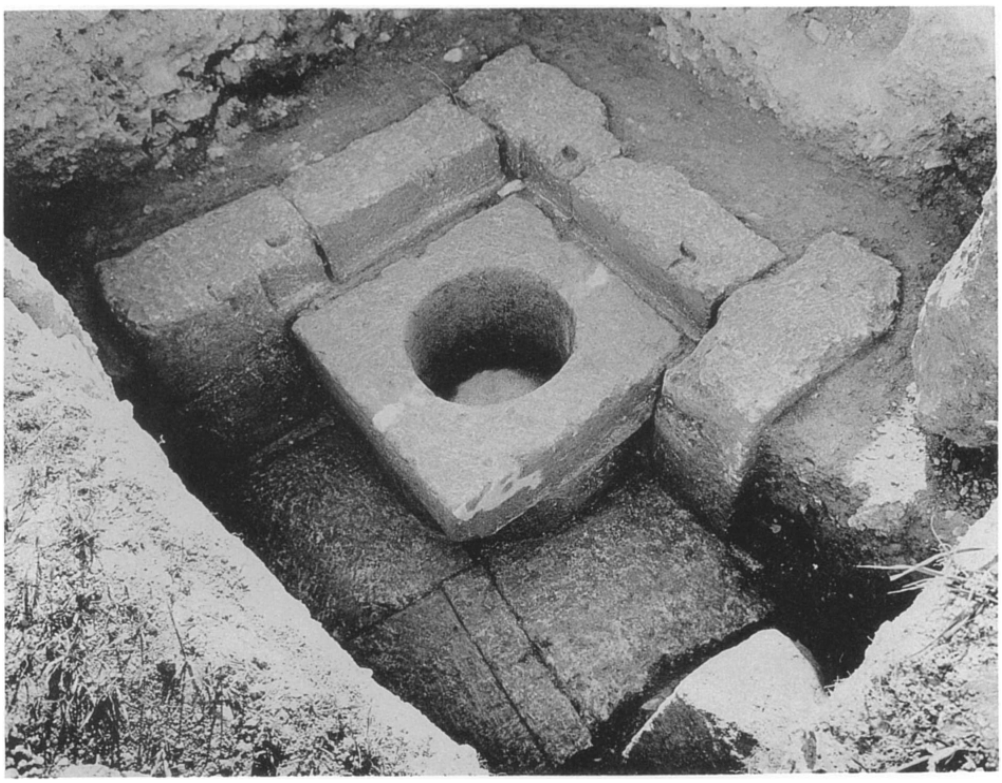


Figure 3.30: Sacred Repository in the Agora

Figure 3.31: Fragmentory red-figure krater from the Sacred Repository, depicting chariot scene, 490-480 B.C.

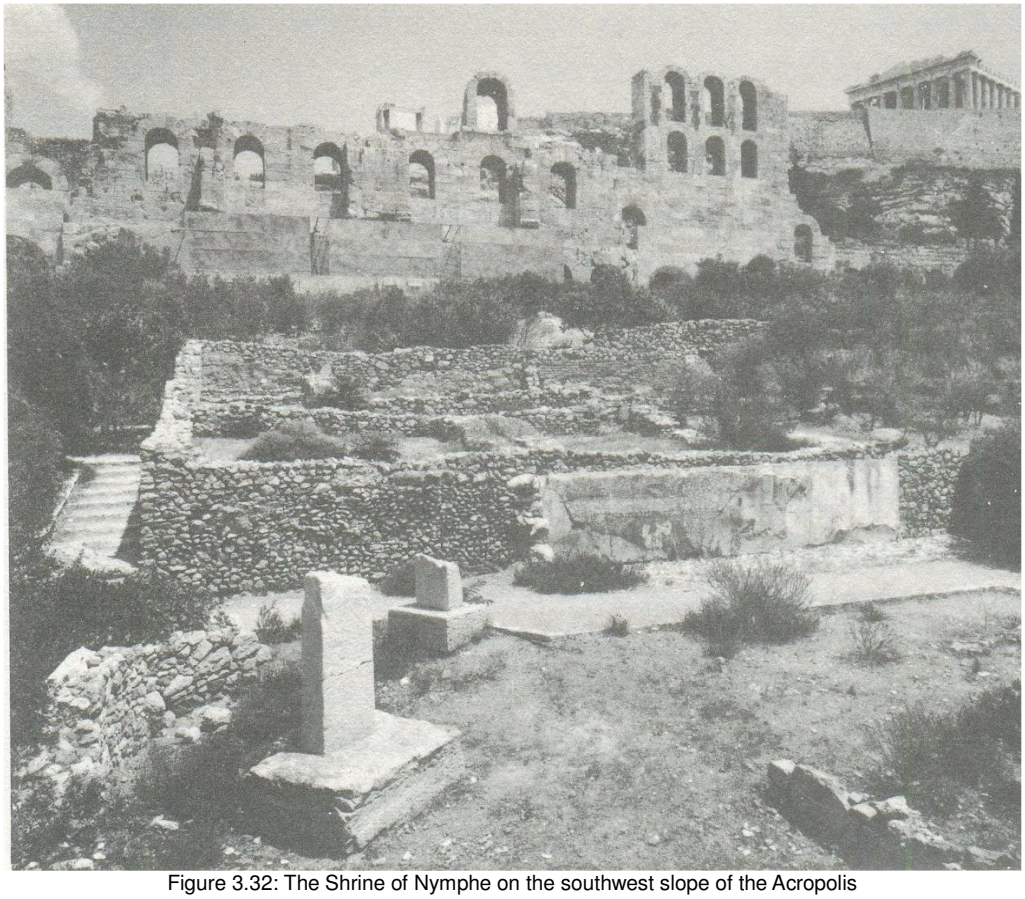


Figure 3.32: The Shrine of Nymphe on the southwest slope of the Acropolis

Figure 3.33: A selection of loutrophoroi and other vases excavated from the Shrine of Nymphe

Figure 3.34: The caves of the Nymphs at Vari

Figure 3.35: The Crossroads Enclosure, northwest corner of the Agora

Figure 3.36: Red-figure stemless cup from the Crossroads Enclosure, depicting Apollo in sacrifice scene, *ca.* 420 B.C.

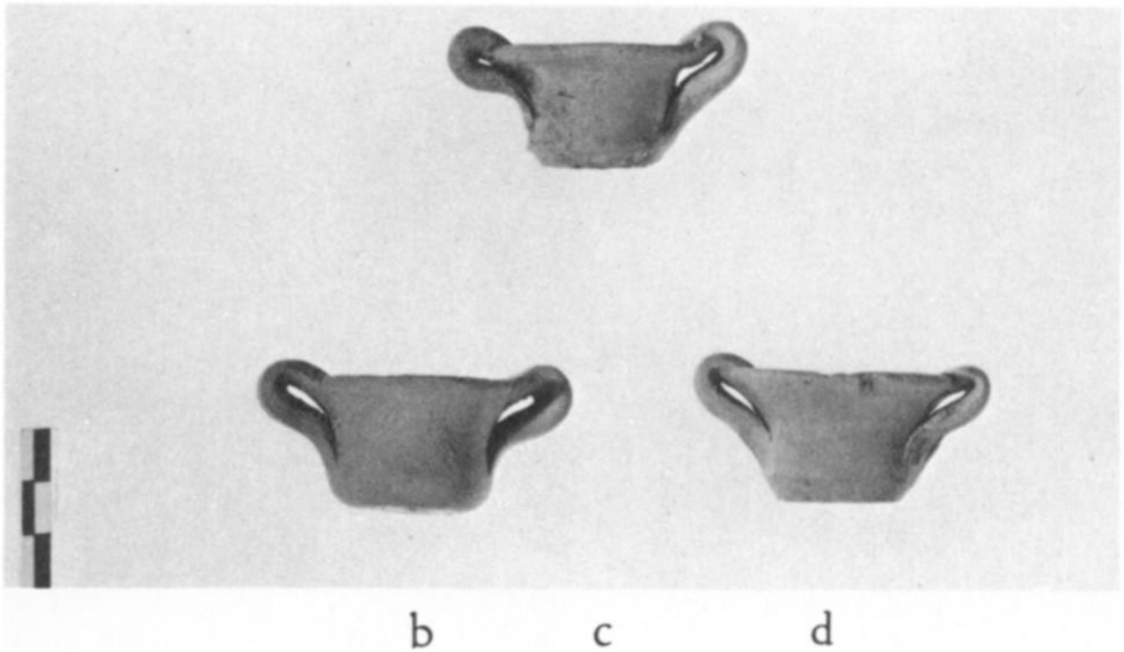


Figure 3.37: Plain and glazed miniature cups from the Crossroads Enclosure

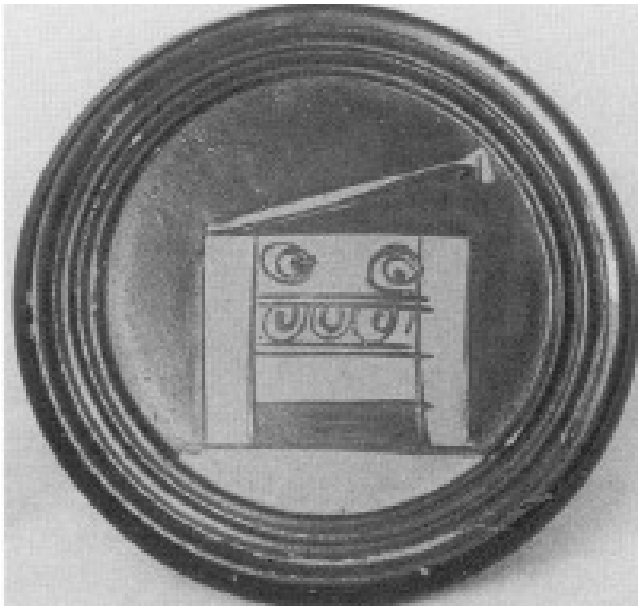


Figure 4.2 Red-figure Pyxis with cosmetic box decoration

Figure 4.3: Red-figure cup, reclining drinker, 510 B.C

Figure 4.4: Fragments of a red-figure krater, sympotic scene, 525-475 B.C

Figure 4.5a: Red-figure cup, sympotic scene, 480 B.C

Figure 4.5b: Red-figure cup, sympotic scene, 480 B.C

Figure 4.6: Red-figure cup, sympotic scene, 500 B.C

Figure 4.7a: Red-figure psykter with female drinkers, 510-500 B.C

Figure 4.7b: Red-figure psykter with female drinkers, 510-500 B.C

Figure 4.8: Red-figure cup, female drinking scene, 520 B.C

Figure 4.9: Red-figure cup with komos scene, 510-500 B.C

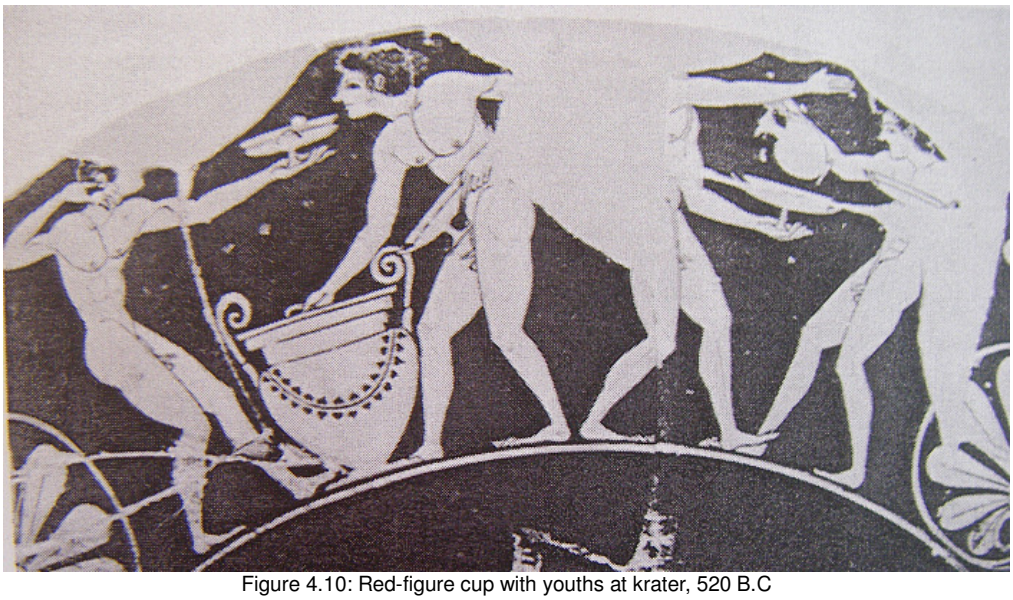


Figure 4.10: Red-figure cup with youths at krater, 520 B.C

Figure 4.11: Tondo of a red-figure cup with masturbating youth, 525-475 B.C

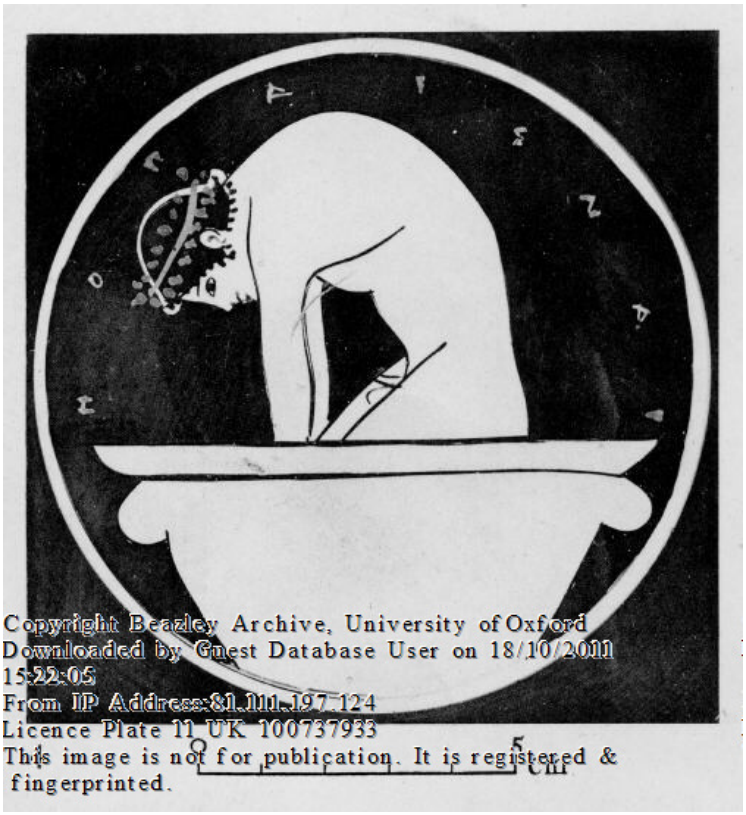


Figure 4.12: Red-figure cup with youth inside krater

Figure 4.13: Red-figure cup with youth inside krater, 525-475 B.C

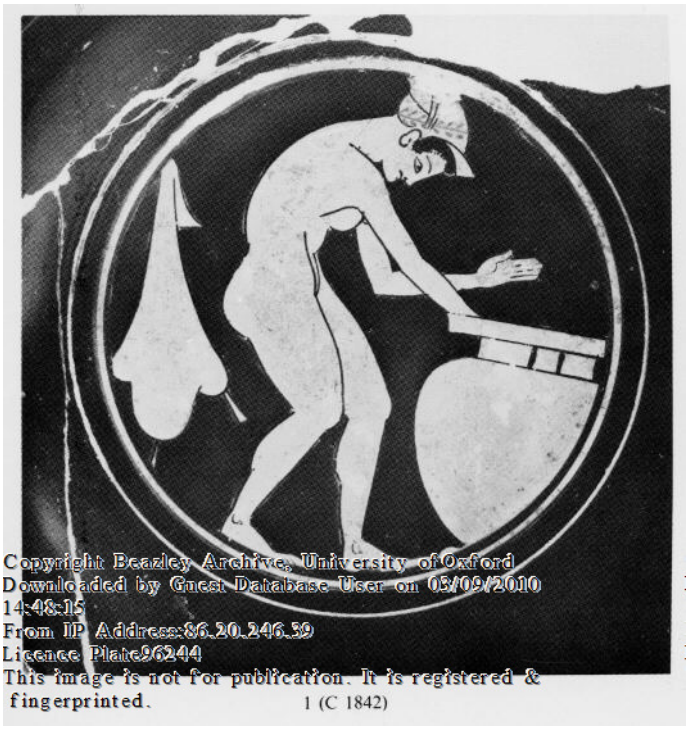


Figure 4.14: Red-figure cup depicting woman at krater, 500 B.C

Figure 4.15: Red-figure pelike depicting woman apparently washing at krater

Figure 4.16: Red-figure hydria with group domestic scene, 430 B.C

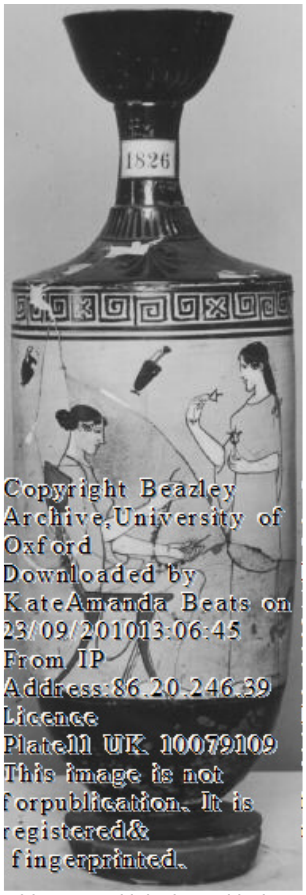


Figure 4.17: Red-figure, white ground lekythos with domestic scene, 475-425 B.C

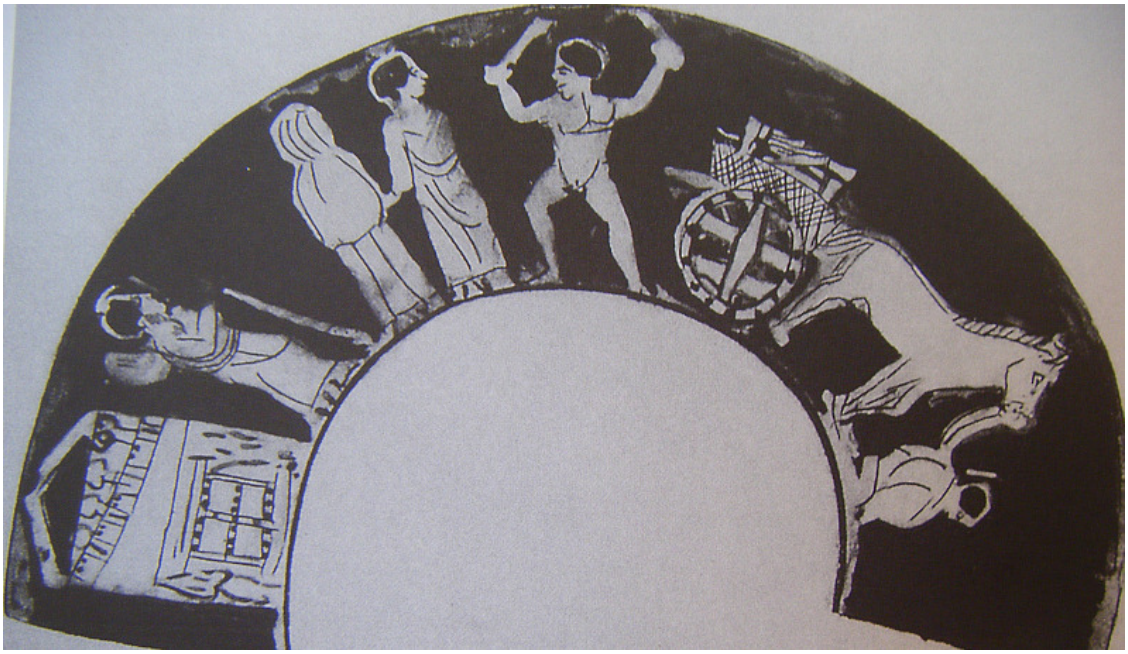


Figure 4.18: Red-figure bowl with wedding procession, ca. 550 B.C

Figure 4.19: Red-figure pyxis with wedding procession, ca. 550 B.C

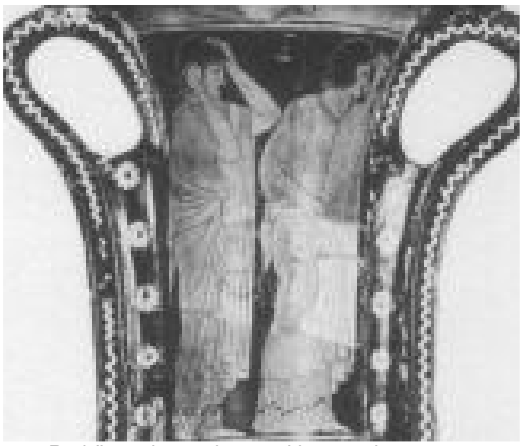


Figure 4.20: Red-figure loutrophoros with mourning scene, 500-450 B.C

Figure 4.21: Red-figure loutrophoros with procession, 430-420 B.C

Figure 4.22: Red-figure lebes gamikos with adornment scene, 450-400 B.C

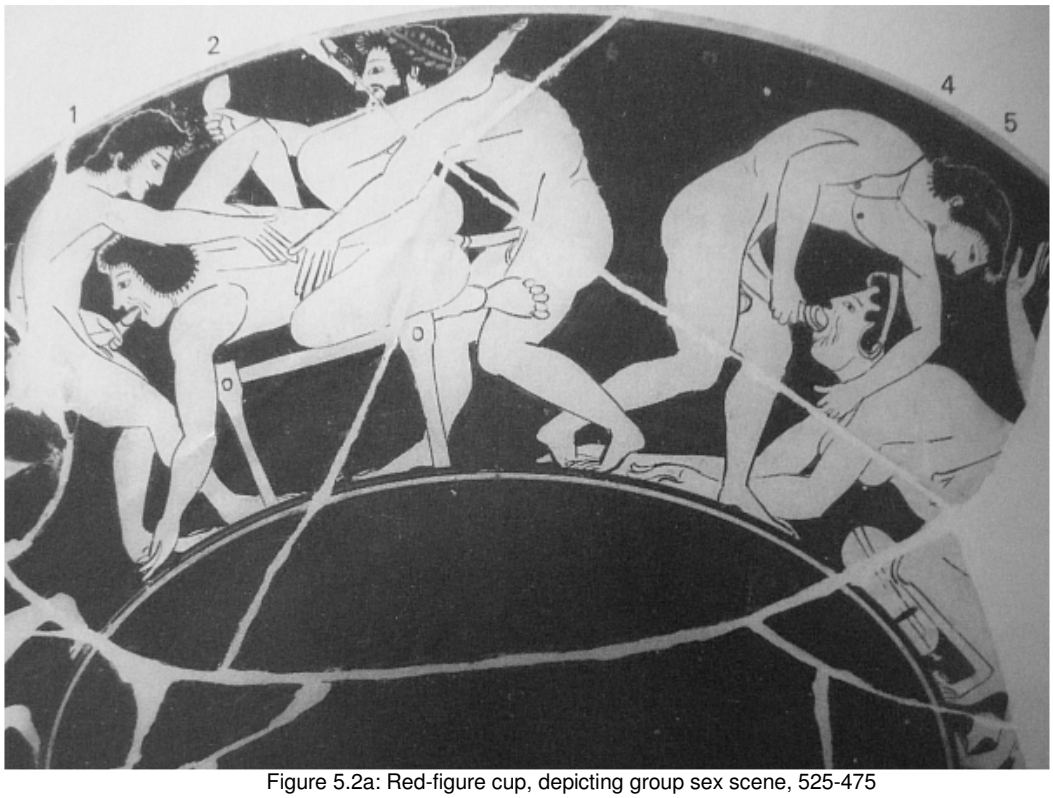


Figure 5.2a: Red-figure cup, depicting group sex scene, 525-475


Figure 5.2b: Tondo of red-figure cup, depicting youth and female lyre player, 525-475

Figure 5.3: Black-figure Amphora, depicting homoerotic scene, 575-525

Figure 5.4: Red-figure cup, depicting homosexual intercourse, 525-475

Figure 5.5: Red-figure lekythos depiciting a single pointed amphora

Figure 5.6: Mixed red-figure and black-figure cup depicts satyr and pointed amphora, Skythes 520-505 B.C.

Figure 5.7: Red-figure oinochoe figure vase depicts a satyr riding a pointed amphora, Talos painter 500-450

Figure 5.8: Red-figure cup depicts flute-girl on pointed amphora, Oltos painter, 525-500

Figure 5.9: Red-figure cup depicts naked woman drinking from pointed amphora, Antiphon Painter, 490-475

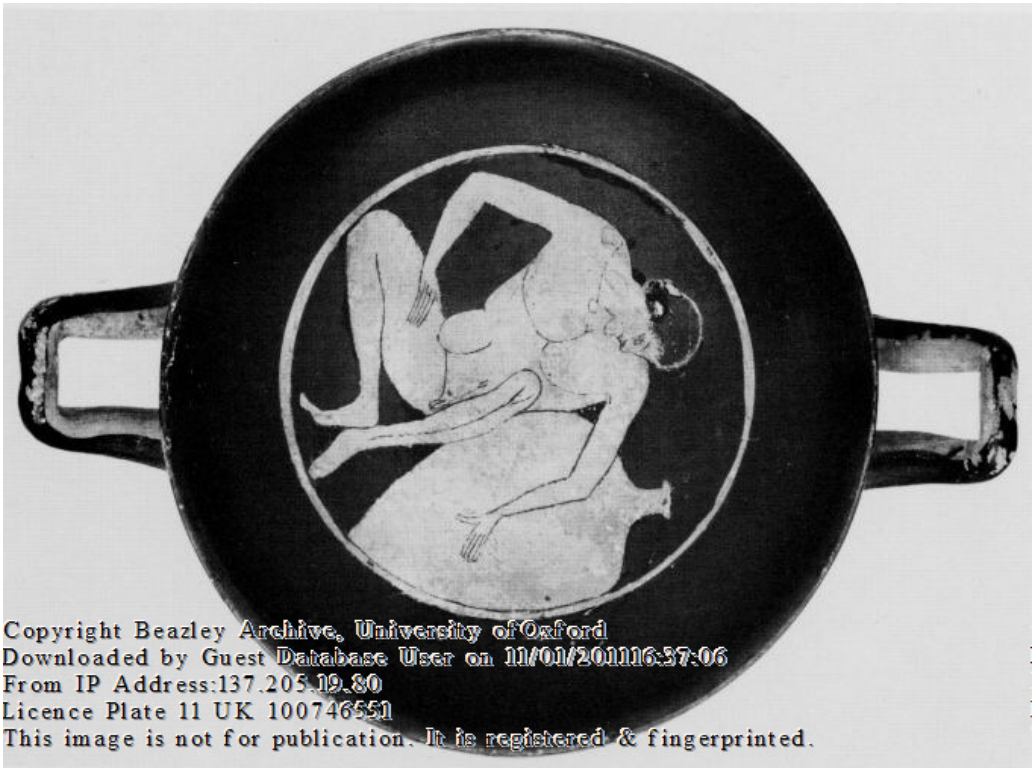


Figure 5.10: Red-figure cup depicting youth and pointed amphora, Group of Adria B 300, c.510

Figure 5.11: Red-figure askos depicting two satyrs with pointed amphora, unattributed, 450-400

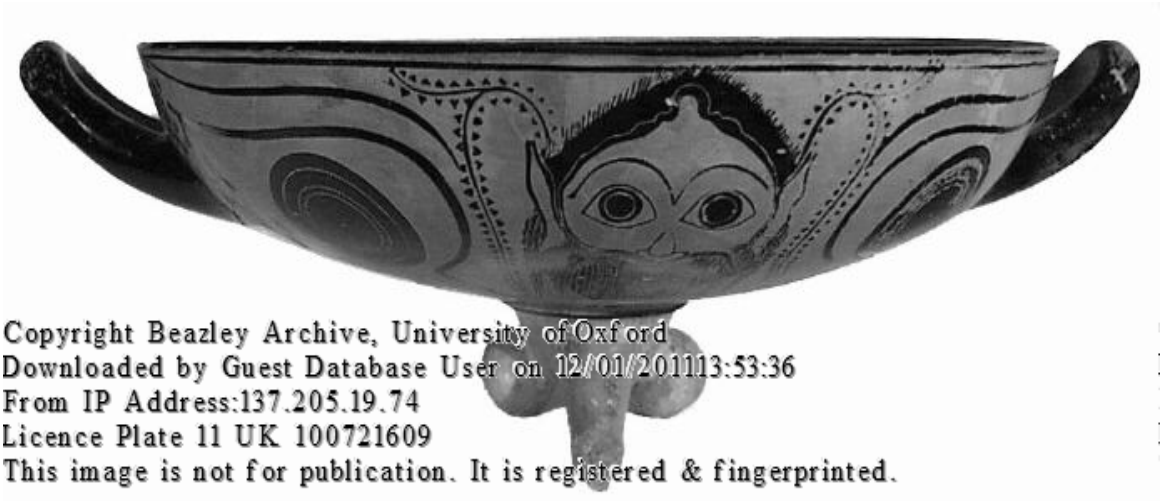


Figure 5.12a: Black-figure, phallus-footed cup with satyr head between eyes, unattributed, 550-500

Figure 5.12b: Black-figure, phallus-footed cup with gorgoneion surrounded by sympotic scene, unattributed, 550-500

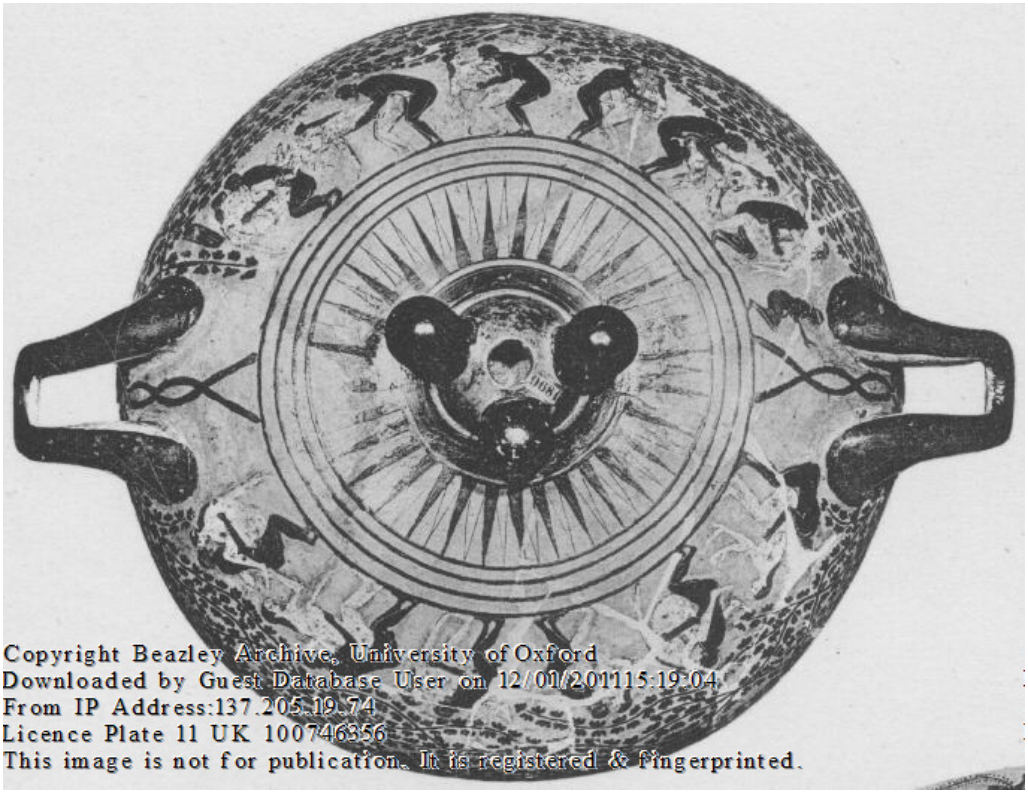


Figure 5.13: Black-figure, phallus-footed cup with erotic scene, unattributed, 525-475

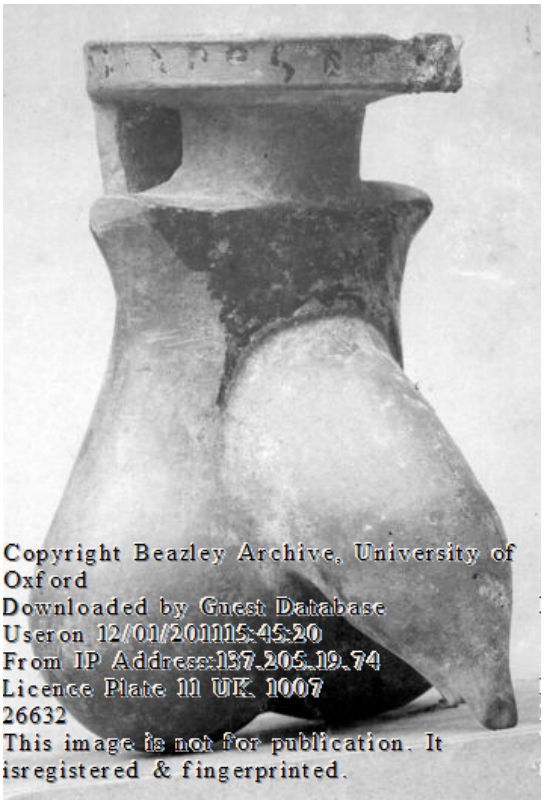


Figure 5.14: Black-figure plastic vase in shape of phallus, depicting homosexual courtship scene, Priapos Painter, c.550

Figure 5.15: Red-figure cup fragment, depicting phallus between eyes, Oltos Painter, 525-500

Figure 5.16: Red-figure cup, depicting naked woman holding phallus-footed cup, Euthymides 515-500

Figure 5.17: Red-figure cup, depicting naked woman drinking from phallus-sprouted skyphos, Douris, 500-460

Figure 5.18: Red-figure cup, depicting naked woman with two olisboi, Nisosthenes, 525-510.

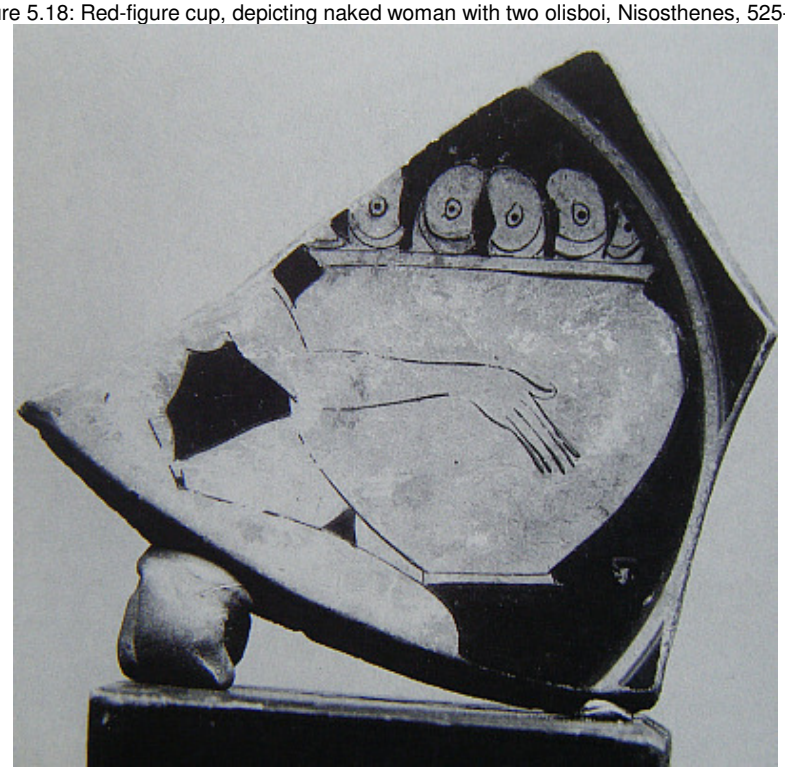


Figure 5.19: Red-figure cup fragment, depicting naked woman with pot full of olisboi, Paseas Painter, 520-510

Figure 5.20: Red-figure Krater, depicting naked woman carrying huge phallus, Pan Painter, 480-460

Figure 5.21: Red-figure pelike, depicting clothed female and large phallus-bird, Myson, 500-475

Figure 5.22a: Red-figure skyphos, depicting satyr and phallus-bird, Shuválov Painter, 460-435

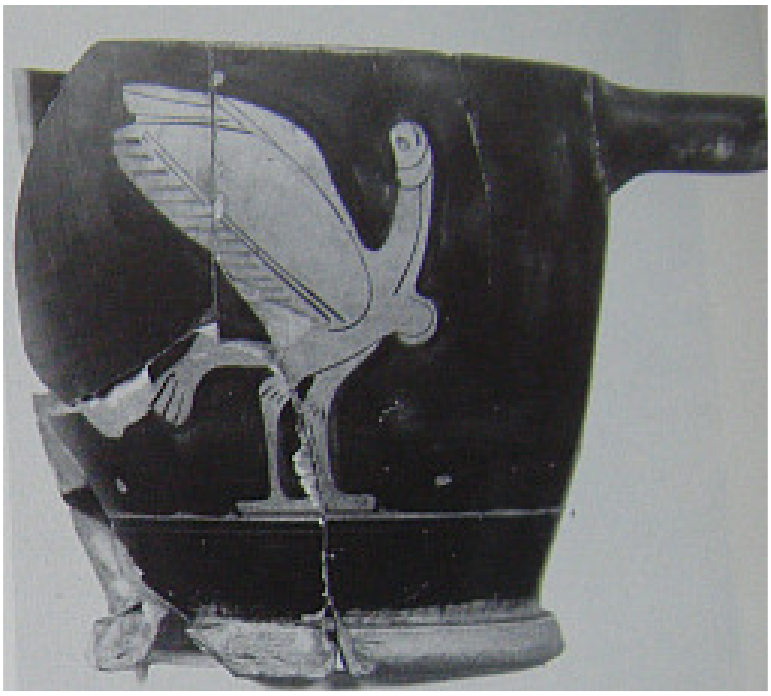


Figure 22b: Red-figure skyphos, depicting a phallus-bird ejaculating, Shuválov Painter, 460-435

Figure 5.23: Red-figure pyxis depicting three vaginas and a phallus-bird, unattributed.

Figure 5.24b: Red-figure stamnos, depicting youth pursuing female with witnesses, Painter of Yale Oinochoe, 500-450

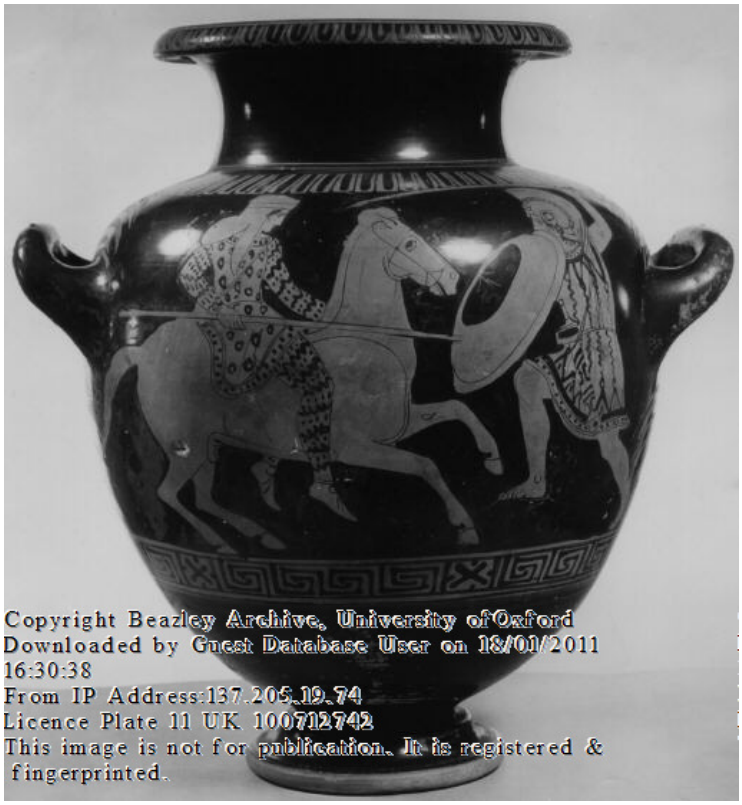


Figure 5.25a: Red-figure stamnos, depicting amazon on horseback and warrior, 475-425

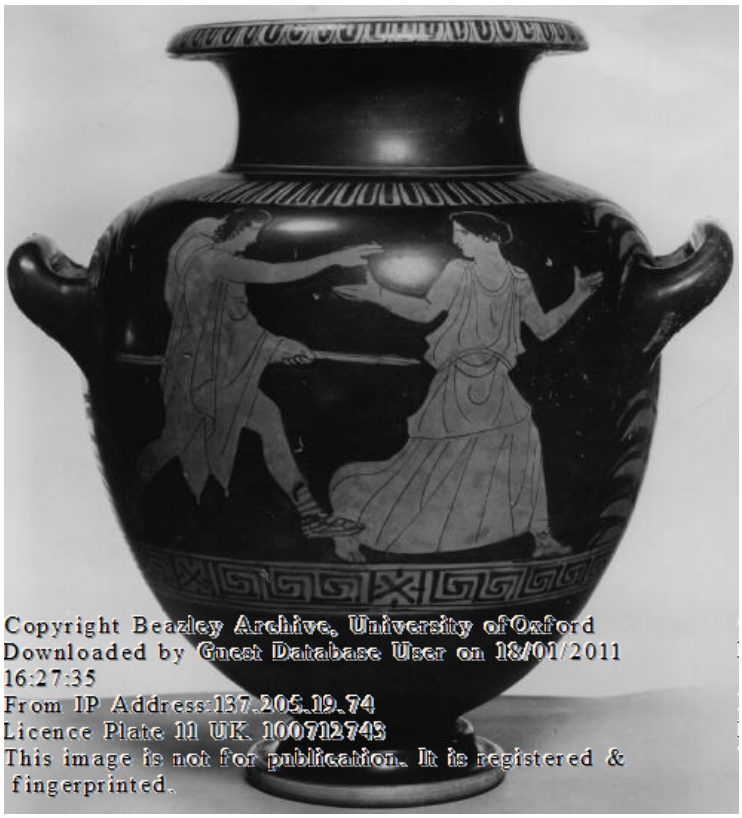


Figure 5.25b: Red-figure stamnos, depicting ephebe pursuing female, 475-425

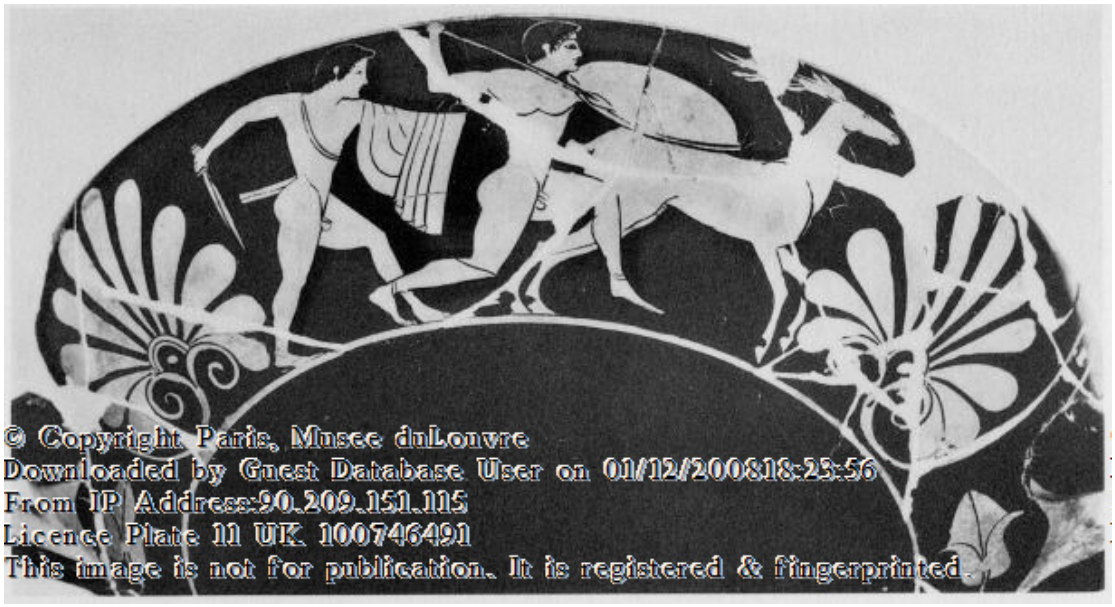


Figure 5.26: Red-figure cup, depicting two ephebes hunting deer, 525-475

Figure 5.27: Red-figure cup, depicting ephebes at a boar hunt, 440-430

Figure 5.28a: Red-figure cup, depicting two ephebes at a boar hunt, 500-450

Figure 5.28b: Red-figure cup, depicting two ephebes at a deer hunt, 500-450

Figure 5.29: Red-figure hydria, depicting an erotic pursuit, ca. 430.

Figure 5.30: Red-figure cup, depicting an erotic pursuit, 475-425

Figure 5.31: Red-figure amphora, depicting Helen and Menelaus' reunion, 500-450

Figure 5.32: Red-figure hydria, depicting Achilles in pursuit of Troilos, 510-500

Fig.5.33: Red-figure Krater depicting Amymone holding hydria, pursued by Poseidon, c.460

Figure 5.34: Red-figure Pelike, depicting Poseidon pursuing Amymone, c.450-440

Figure 5.35: Red-figure krater, depicting a Centauromachy, 500-450

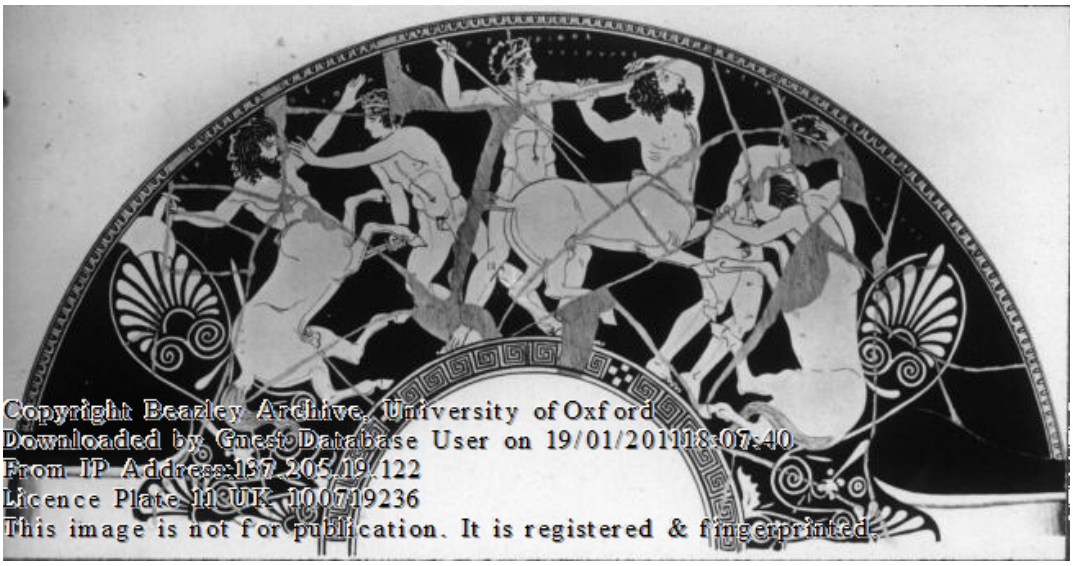


Figure 5.36: Red-figure cup, depicting a Centauromachy, c.410-400

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